

New



MAY 23, 1949

Republic

***THE SOVIET-
AMERICAN
TRUCE***

By PERCY WINNER

HAROLD L. ICKES ON:

FRANCO'S AGENTS IN WASHINGTON

***THE BRASS AND SAMUEL
WAHRHAFTIG***

By JAMES A. WECHSLER

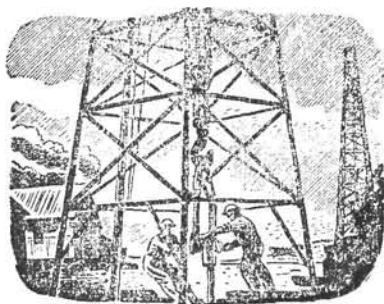
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Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) Reports for 1948...

A year of Progress and Results for an Oil-using World!..

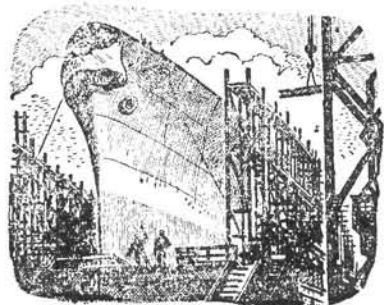
OIL SHORTAGE FEARS of a year ago have vanished. All around the world, oil resources are expanding. In doing their part to meet the rising needs for oil, this Company and its affiliates last year made the greatest efforts in their history. Here are some facts from this Company's Annual Report to its more than 200,000 stockholders...

1 TOTAL PRODUCTION AGAIN INCREASED. After setting new records in both 1946 and 1947, this Company and affiliates in 1948 increased crude oil production by 8% over the year before. Output of crude oil by our domestic affiliates represented 9% of the total crude produced in the U.S. Output of affiliates, world-wide, represented 14% of world production.



*More wells drilled than ever before.
Proved reserves increased*

2 SEARCH FOR NEW OIL SOURCES SET RECORDS. More wells were drilled than ever before. Costs for this were a record \$374,000,000 in 1948. Proved reserves in the earth at year's end were at a new high.

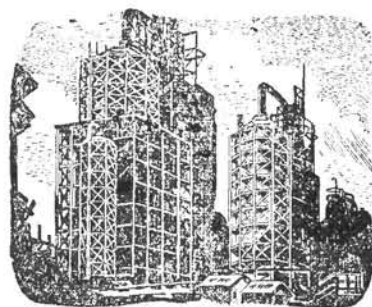


14 new Supertankers ordered, each nearly twice the size of wartime tankers

3 EVEN GREATER COSTS FOR EXPANSION AND REPLACEMENT were again required to meet rising needs for oil. Jersey Standard

and affiliates spent a record \$529,415,000 in 1948, even more than 1947's investment of 426 millions. For these needs and payment of dividends, money again was drawn from earnings, from borrowing, from sale of assets, and from further call on savings of past years.

4 NEW FACILITIES RESULTED ALL OVER THE OIL-PRODUCING WORLD. In Venezuela, the world's largest pipeline was completed. Fourteen new supertankers were ordered, each nearly twice the capacity of wartime tankers. At Montreal and Edmonton in Canada; at Billings, Montana; Linden, New Jersey; and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, new refining facilities for more and better oil products went into service. At Amuay, Venezuela, a new 60,000 barrels per day refinery neared completion.



New facilities like this modern refinery help increase oil supplies

5 RELATIONS WITH EMPLOYEES CONTINUED EXCELLENT. Again there were no domestic strikes or work stoppages. At year's end the gross investment in property, plant and equipment amounted to \$26,600 for each of the 129,000 employees of Jersey and its affiliated companies.

6 BOTH INCOME AND EXPENDITURES ROSE. As reported in the consolidated statement, total income of all companies was \$3,332,187,000, an increase of 40% over 1947. At the same time, costs were also

up 40%. \$1,386,248,000 was paid for crude oil and other supplies. \$573,459,000 paid to employees. \$492,000,000 for other operating costs. Taxes of \$268,000,000 were paid.

7 RECORD NET EARNINGS, LARGELY PLOUGHED BACK. Consolidated net earnings totaled \$365,605,000. Yet this total, plus affiliates' earnings assignable to stockholders other than Jersey, plus all of the year's depreciation allowances was just about equal to the amount of money put back into the business to meet pressing needs for expansion and replacements. Stockholders of Standard Oil Company (N.J.) received dividends of \$2.00 per share of the Company's stock, plus a stock dividend of two shares for each 40 shares held.



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ALTHOUGH world oil consumption for the year increased 6.5%, and U.S. consumption 5.6%... the need was met and more. Threatened shortages were averted. Proved reserves in the earth are greater than ever before. New, modern facilities for meeting present and future needs are coming into operation throughout the world. Increasingly, human progress calls for more and more oil. In every way, the year 1948 was a year of progress and results for an oil-using world.

*The better you live,
the more oil you use!*

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AND AFFILIATED COMPANIES

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MAY 23, 1949

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE LINE of least resistance in Washington is toward deficit financing. The rival schools of "economy" and "higher taxes" are hard at it; the trouble is that success for either requires strong affirmative action involving sacrifices, while deficit financing is the result of doing nothing at all. It is a real question, too, how far the government should pull in its belt just when private spenders throughout the nation are being tempted to do the same thing.

Truman advisers scoff at the idea that "economy" by itself will meet present deficit prospect: Congress is likely to end up spending more than Truman recommended, they assert. Congress, on the other hand, absolutely won't vote the \$4 billion in new taxes Truman recommended last January—and in my judgment, shouldn't. Truman's proposal was valid in January, when inflation was ascendant; it's no longer valid in the present recession. The question is, will Truman shift fiscal policy himself or will the initiative be taken by his political enemies?

The consensus here is that business will be worse before it gets better, but that chances of an average or above-average business year for 1949 are still good. (Trouble is, 1948 was so sensationally prosperous it magnifies recession by contrast.) Until things get worse, pump-priming as an excuse for unbalanced budget hardly seems valid. There are increasing prospects of cuts in defense and foreign-aid costs. Again this follows the line of least resistance.

Liberal Senator Douglas (D, Ill.) suddenly finds himself the uncomfortable darling of the conservatives for urging budget cuts. However, GOP papers don't cite two Douglas reservations: (a) We wouldn't face a deficit now if the 80th Congress hadn't rashly cut taxes; and (b) If unemployment

reaches five millions we should start pump-priming and damn the deficits.

We watched Norman Thomas testify for the Atlantic Treaty last week before the Senate Committee. Both Democrats and Republicans treated him respectfully—even deferentially. He was at all times master of the situation and seemed to us the ablest man in the room. The bulk of the Thomas-



Socialist platform has now been adopted by the New Dealers and even gets lip service from the GOP. Victory is so complete even Bob Taft is called a "socialist" in a

world where that epithet has all but lost meaning save in McGraw-Hill advertisements and among those who still think graduated income taxes wicked. Why haven't the Socialists got farther as a party? Was it the pacifist-isolationist slant of some elements in World Wars I and II?

According to the press, the annual conference of New York Methodists last week unanimously endorsed Truman's health-insurance program. The Methodists had better watch out or Whitaker and Baxter will get 'em. W & B is the high-powered West Coast publicity firm hired by the American Medical Association to fight compulsory health insurance. W & B will direct spending the AMA's \$3.5 million political fund raised by \$25-a-head assessments on 140,000 members.

The *Dallas Medical Journal*, apparently inadvertently, has just published the W & B battle plan. It was disclosed earlier at a confidential conference of state medical societies at Chicago. Highlights: 1. Lavish advertising. 2. Republication by the million of propaganda articles first printed in key newspapers and magazines. 3. Proselyting work on legislators after "locating every congressman's personal physician." 4. Making every doctor's office

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Recently a group of journalists, philosophers, scholars, and expert observers met privately to discuss the USSR.

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Among the questions these experts asked each other was—how far has economic recovery progressed in Russia? What has happened to living standards? Has a class system developed? How about the prestige of the Soviet Communist Party? What is the ideological meaning of the attack on the West? Is the USSR likely to precipitate war?

The participants included Joseph Barnes, Abram Bergson, Cyril Black, Lewis Feuer, George Fischer, Louis Fischer, Andrew Gyorgy, John Hazard, Maurice Hindus, Alex Inkeles, Richard E. Lauterbach, Robert Magidoff, Harry Schwartz, Solomon M. Schwarz, E. J. Simmons, Bertram Wolfe.

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5/23/49

a center of propaganda against the national health-insurance program.

President Truman tells visitors that the bad economic situation in Eastern European countries may force the partial raising of the iron curtain. Fact is that Czechoslovakia, Poland and Eastern Germany are running out of raw materials; Russia can't supply them; and unless they reach some quick accommodation with the West, they face a very grave situation. The Czechs desperately want a US loan to buy goods to keep industry running. A shakeup in US-Soviet relations is now certain with the lifting of the Berlin blockade.

Meanwhile history's latest attempt to make the conquered pay for modern war has failed. On US insistence, the German reparations policy was revised, on April 13, to allow 159 plants marked for removal to be kept in Germany. A month later the US announced that there'd be no further reparations from Japan. The basic reason is economic: the former policy simply meant that the US taxpayer was subsidizing two defeated countries; now the effort is being directed toward making them more self-sufficient under safeguards. Of course this makes Germany and Japan stronger, too.

One ironical suggestion heard here is that citizens of the voteless District of Columbia be sent to govern Germany. The theory is there'd be rapport between them, as both are disfranchised and are taxed and run from outside. Greater Washington is a city of about a million; it is ruled as a sideline by a harassed Congress. This has been going on so long that many Washingtonians don't want suffrage responsibility.

Senator Byrd, the Great Economizer, made an unsuccessful last-ditch fight against the federal aid-to-education bill, passed 58 to 15. As ex-Governor, Byrd supported his state's policy of refusing to match federal social-security funds for children, the blind and the aged. Result: Virginia is near the bottom of the list in regard to aid to these unfortunates.

Washington

T. R. B.



TO GUARD AGAINST DEPRESSION

FOR TWO AND A HALF YEARS, President Truman has beseeched Congress to give him power to deal with inflation. If action was not taken to bring prices, wages and profits under control, the President warned, post-war prosperity and full employment could not be indefinitely sustained.

There are increasing signs that Truman was right. Employment is falling—we were not able to absorb the new entries into the national labor force this year. Production continues to decline, as does consumer buying and private investment in new productive capacity. The President certainly could say, "I told you so." That would be no substitute, however, for a new economic program designed to deal with possible further developments in this direction.

Experts do not agree on the exact state of the nation's economic health. But all those who know our government acknowledge that today we are in no position to cope with an economic crisis should one develop. The Employment Act of 1946 provided the country for the first time with thermometers for detecting economic illness. The establishment of the Council of Economic Advisers to the President and a special arm of Congress to study and report on the state of the economy make it possible to discover economic trouble before it breaks out. But we still have no adequate provision for dealing with economic upsets when they occur.

The program for controlling inflation submitted to Congress by the President on five past occasions is now outmoded by Congress' continued failure to act. Now, it is generally agreed, we have passed from inflation either to "deflation" or to a "healthy disinflation," depending upon which economic adviser to the President one is consulting. In either case, a whole new approach to the problem of continued prosperity is now necessary. A new program for expanding our capacity to produce should be offered in place of the outdated inflation-controls program and as a means of providing the additional purchasing power needed now. Steps far beyond those authorized by the Employment Act of 1946 should be taken immediately if we are to have any guarantee of stability, regardless of whether inflation or deflation is just ahead.

The New Dealers left in Truman's Fair Deal Ad-

ministration have about completed a plan which would provide the necessary medicine and the authority to administer it to a sick economy whenever the need arose. This program, which has been tentatively drafted under the title, "Economic Expansion Act of 1949," could be the answer to present threats of depression. Leading progressives in both Houses of Congress are studying the new plan and can be expected to offer legislation containing their versions of it in the near future. In basic policy terms, the new expansion act will go on from the Employment Act of 1946 which declared the responsibility of the federal government for promoting maximum employment, production, and purchasing power. Now Congress, in addition, will be asked to accept responsibility for assuring

steady growth and expansion of the national economy in order that an average of at least a million new job opportunities a year may be available for a growing population; that the average annual increase of at least three to four percentum in total production which available resources and skills make feasible may be achieved; that opportunities for small, independent, and competitive businesses may be maintained and enlarged; that standards of living may be raised from year to year; and that the position of the United States in the world economy may be secure.

The new expansion plan will take a strictly "private-enterprise" approach. To maintain economic stability, there must be continuous expansion of production in certain areas, essential because of their effect on general levels of investment or because they create bottlenecks in industry. Steel; iron ore and iron-ore shipping facilities; freight cars; manganese and chromite; copper, lead and zinc; bauxite and aluminum; synthetic liquid fuels; electric power; fertilizers; and timber are the outstanding examples.

The heart of a sound economic program must be expansion in these areas. To obtain such expansion the President must be given power to: grant amortization deductions to encourage new private investment in additional capacity; rehabilitate government-built war plants not now in operation or not being operated at full capacity; construct needed plants or equipment, when necessary, for lease or sale to private enterprise; insure up to 90 percent of private investment in expan-

sion of underdeveloped regions of the country, when not otherwise obtainable; assist small business to aid and expand production by insuring bank loans and extending direct loans from the government for such activity, or providing technical services and awarding special scientific-research contracts to small business for demonstration plants; study constantly the extent to which needed expansion is impeded by monopoly.

Specific planning is also vitally needed in the development of public-works projects and in the treatment of the "spot unemployment" which already exists. Today we do not even have a shelf of planned federal public-works projects ready for an emergency. In addition to remedying that error at once, the Federal Works Administrator should be authorized to make grants to states, cities and counties to help finance shelf of such blueprints of their own. "Spot unemployment," wherever it develops, should be treated as an emergency problem before it can spread to infect other areas. The President needs special power to promote business activity in such an unemployment area: by placing government contracts with local business, by increasing public works and services in the area, or by loans to assist workers and their families to move to other locations where there are jobs.

The sponsors of this new approach have thus far avoided certain basic questions which must be answered. What should be the magnitude of the expansion program—\$2 billion, \$5 billion, \$10 billion? Congress will finally determine, but the Administration must warn that too small an investment would invalidate the whole concept. Probably less than a \$5 billion

beginning would be too little. Should not President Truman's inaugural proposal, that US funds be used to develop the underdeveloped areas of the world, be incorporated into this program for increasing America's own resources, so as to remove any isolationist intention from the beginning? Must not more fundamental methods of dealing with "spot unemployment" be provided? Authorizing federal emergency expenditures in the critical areas is only a superficial answer. In deep emergencies, the federal government should certainly be empowered also to underwrite production in certain industries for a limited time, as is now done in the field of agriculture.

No less ambitious program than this will provide anything like adequate insurance against deepening recession. President Truman was foresighted about the economic threat contained in the period of inflation through which we have just passed. Had the program which he advocated been adopted, we might be entering a period of real stability instead of grave uncertainty. The considerable volume of housing, school and hospital construction authorized by this Congress and the resource-development projects in prospect will be helpful in stimulating production and employment. But vastly more stimulation will be needed. President Truman knows very well how long it takes to educate Congress to acceptance of a program as sweeping as the one outlined above. Unless he begins now to campaign vigorously for this kind of expansion plan, he and not Congress must take the blame if serious economic trouble develops.

THE WEEK

THE FORD STRIKE

Lusty Local 600 of the United Automobile Workers, the "largest local union in the world," upset the CIO's timetable when it forced the hand of UAW President Walter P. Reuther and struck against an alleged Ford assembly-line speedup at the huge River Rouge plant. But there was more behind the strike than the issues of "union politics" so strongly emphasized in stories pouring out of Detroit.

Within the next two months the CIO's big international unions face major contract negotiations in the

steel, oil, electrical and automotive industries. The strategic objective of the union leaders is identical—to force all mass-production industries to follow the coal industry and grant welfare funds, including pensions, financed by employers as a natural cost of production.

With living costs slipping and a buyers' market building up, the unions have lost the most powerful argument which enabled them to win successive cash wage increases in the first three postwar years. The welfare-fund issue—pioneered on a major scale by John L. Lewis—is made to order for them.

It is a logical issue, based on the thesis that industry has an inescapable duty to create "sinking funds" for worn-out employees just as it builds reserves to replace worn-out machinery.

This has been Reuther's major emphasis this year, and Ford was the company against which he intended to concentrate his guns. Chrysler and General Motors, the other members of the automotive Big Three, are immune from direct pressure because their contracts do not expire until 1950. Reuther's theory was that if Ford granted pensions, the other companies could not hold back. The reverse, per-

haps, is equally true: if the UAW cannot get pensions from Ford this year, Chrysler and GM may prove equally stubborn next year. In building up to Ford negotiations, Reuther asked his rank-and-file members not to sidetrack themselves on a "detour."

When the rank and file of Local 600 insisted on a strike against the speedup, Ford officials promptly began dropping into their press releases strong hints that "union politics" was responsible. Politics, doubtless, was involved: Local 600 has a Communist-led faction which delights in making trouble for Reuther, and its non-Communist president, Tommy Thompson, has never been enthusiastically pro-Reuther and is reputed to fancy himself for important jobs in the international union. Thompson established himself as a strong man by winning the local presidency three times in succession.

But the truth behind Local 600's militancy might be understood more clearly by remembering that the issue of the "speedup," a dozen years ago, was the central issue around which the UAW was born. And nowhere was the workers' antagonism over the driving pace of the assembly lines more intense than at Ford, which was charged with wearing men out in 20 years and tossing them, at the age of 40, on the industrial slagheap as "too slow to keep up."

The rank and file of Local 600 supported Reuther, two to one, in the 1947 UAW convention. The whole local was aroused at the alleged speedup centering in one department. The mayor of Dearborn, where the plant is located, suggested that Henry Ford II might best determine the justice of the workers' arguments by trying the assembly-line speed himself.

Reuther's problem was to settle the River Rouge complaint on its merits, without sacrificing the push and drive behind his forthcoming pension-fund negotiations, or to turn the River Rouge walkout itself into an instrument for general bargaining. His first action was to ban all "side issues" and clarify the speedup dispute.

If industry generally hoped that the River Rouge explosion would destroy the pension-fund drive, its hope was probably delusory. Eventually it will prove unworkable to have the coal industry paying \$100-a-month pensions while every other industry resists and rejects welfare-fund payments.

SPRING HOUSE CLEANING

The defeat of Mayor Frank Hague Eggers, nephew of the 73-year-old "Boss," by John V. Kenny, a disgruntled former Hague-machine man, marks the passing of almost the last of the bosses from the American city scene. Pendergast, Crump, Vare, Curley, Kelly and Nash, the once-mighty Tammany, and now Hague, are no longer names which topple ballot boxes.

The end of 36 years of Hague rule in Jersey City opens the way for liberal reform of the Democratic Party in the state as a whole. The new Mayor of Jersey City won on a "throw-the-rascals-out," freedom-for-all ticket. However, Kenny frankly admitted that he bucked the Boss only because Hague had kicked him out as machine leader for the Second Ward: "If he had not thrown me out, I probably still would be a member of the machine."

No principles were involved in his fight against Hague. And there was no open liberal support for Kenny. The AFL in Hudson County officially endorsed the Eggers ticket; the CIO County Council and the ADA officially adopted a hands-off position. The expected housecleaning, however, will have plenty of liberal support.

The progressive Democrats are trying to influence Kenny for good by impressing on him what powerful potential allies he would have in them. They can point to an equally remarkable upset in Newark in last Tuesday's elections where Steve Moran, secretary-treasurer of the CIO State Council of New Jersey, was elected to the City Commission in a surprising show of liberal voting strength. To elect Moran, labor worked hard to get out the 78 percent of all registered voters who went to the polls, an exceptionally

large turnout in a municipal race. A labor registration drive had previously produced 26,000 more registrations than ever before had been recorded for a city election. In the past, the five Newark City Commissioners have headed five separate personal machines with the result that there was no real Democratic Party in Essex County able to win an election. Moran will try to consolidate Essex Democratic forces to break the overwhelming Republican control of the county's representation in the state legislature. The large Essex County bloc could be decisive in a Democratic fight to win control of the legislature.

The substantial Hudson County majorities which the Hague machine has delivered to the Democratic national ticket for so many years may be reduced for the time being. But anti-Hague politicians in New Jersey point out that Hague's presence in the party has always been the kiss of death for the Democratic organization among the "decent" elements downstate. They predict that after things have settled a bit, the passing of Hague will actually increase the Democratic majority in the state as a whole.

Liberal Democrats are already demanding a special meeting of the State Democratic Committee for a new test of strength. Even if such a showdown does not result in ousting the Hague organization from state control immediately, its days are numbered.

RAYBURN TO THE REAR

The Administration, somewhat bruised from its unsuccessful attempts to repeal Taft-Hartley, is surrendering before the battle over minimum wages begins. Again Speaker Sam Rayburn is leading the retreat in the House. Convinced that the Administration's plan to raise minimum wages from 40 to 75 cents an hour and extend coverage under the present law to an additional five million workers would be defeated by the Dixie-GOP's, Speaker Rayburn ordered a compromise. Almost before the ink was dry on the Administration bill, reported favorably out of the House Labor Committee

last week, Representatives John Lesinski (D, Mich.) and Hugo Sims (D, S.C.) dropped new bills into the hopper which are a far cry from the wishes of President Truman and labor groups. Both simply amend the present Wages and Hours Act to increase the minimum wage—the Lesinski bill to 75 cents, and the Sims bill from 60 to 75 cents over a period of seven years. Neither extends coverage to new industries.

Today about 1.5 million of the 22.6 million workers now covered by the 40-cent minimum are paid less than 75 cents. Employees of hotel chains, department stores and other retail service establishments, plus some workers in farm processing plants, transportation and shipping, are outside the existing law. The Administration bill, as reported out, would put five million more employees under the minimum-wage protection and 5.5 million under the 40-hour week.

The Republicans are working on another bill, even less desirable than Rayburn's compromise scheme: to tie the minimum wage to the cost of living, starting with a 65-cent-an-hour base in 1949. The following year the minimum would be raised or lowered, depending on the rise or fall of the cost-of-living index.

Labor, stunned by its so recent defeat, has been slow to protest the Rayburn plan. But at least pressure is increasing to consider the original minimum-wage bill, now pending in the Rules Committee, before accepting any compromise.

BACK TO CALHOUN

JACKSON, MISS. (NR correspondent)

In the year that has passed since they gathered here from all over the South to denounce Harry Truman and threaten revolt against the Democratic Party, the Dixiecrats have lost most

of their loudness and their boldness, and their ranks have thinned down to a comparative handful of rabid supporters.

As they met here to celebrate the first anniversary of the States' Rights movement, the Dixiecrats completely shunned the word "Democrat" and adopted the title, "National States' Rights Committee," under which to operate until they decide their allegiance in the 1952 election. The States' Righters no longer spoke of being "sacrificed on the block of blind party loyalty" or of restoring the Democratic Party to the principles of Thomas Jefferson.

Now they emerge as extreme economizers who would seek through a constitutional amendment to eliminate all extravagance and waste of the government, amortize the national debt and return to the states the proceeds of all income, profit, estate, gift and inheritance taxes above what would be needed to carry on the armed forces and veterans' services. They would strip the federal government of all authority in the fields of education, elections, suffrage, civil rights, racial relations, wages, hours and working conditions, zoning, transfer and ownership of property and the exercise of police power.

So supreme would the state laws be on these subjects that no federal court could invalidate state legislation and Congress could not legislate in these fields or enter into any treaty that would conflict with state laws. As an afterthought, the amendment forbids the nationalization of labor, any business, industry or profession. The penalty for violation of the foregoing provisions: up to \$10,000 fine and 10 years in prison.

Under instructions of the assembly, the newly formed National States' Rights Committee will devote its attention to inserting the "States' Rights Amendment" into the Constitution of the United States. The Dixiecrats seem to have made a big decision: to concentrate on building a states'-rights organization instead of boring from within the Democratic Party between now and the next election.



THE WAGE ISSUE IN SOCIALIST BRITAIN

WHEN Sir Stafford Cripps, on the eve of the Easter recess, introduced yet another austere Budget, which not only disappointed hopes of relief in purchase tax but actually raised the cost of living by a sizable reduction in the subsidies for which appropriations would have had to be sought in order to keep food prices stable, it was obvious that he was running the risk of compromising his policy of persuading the trade unions to refrain from pressing demands for increased wages. Could he count on obtaining from the General Council of the Trades Union Congress reaffirmation of their previous endorsement of the necessity for "restraint" in making wage claims?

Meeting on April 27, the General Council gave Sir Stafford an answer of sorts, but one so hedged with qualifications that it means very little. The "loyalists" in the TUC succeeded in preventing any open rebellion against the "wages-stop"; but the General Council, expressing "concern" at the nature of the Budget, passed a resolution insisting, in effect, that prices must be brought down if the trade-union movement were to be able to "continue" accepting the view that wage demands should be held in check.

It is important, moreover, to remember that the General Council of the TUC has no executive powers; and, whatever it may say, the fact remains that the Budget has given renewed impetus to numerous big wage claims which were previously simmering. The miners are demanding an upward revision of their cost-of-living bonus, and in some areas are threatening to refuse to work a Saturday shift unless their demands are accepted. The railwaymen are bitter at the rejection by their Arbitration Tribunal of their demand for a \$2.50 advance in the minimum weekly wage. Postal workers are also pressing a claim for a substantial wage increase; and other demands, not yet formu-

by Aylmer Vallance

lated, from both industrial and distributive workers are pending. In short, pressure to sweep away the "wages-stop" is manifestly mounting; and, since it is being actively stimulated by the Communist *Daily Worker* and the left-wing militants in the trade-union movement, a bigger issue—the struggle for control by Left or Right over trade-union policy—is being raised once more.

It is an issue that many observers thought had been settled, last winter, pretty decisively in favor of the right wing. When Arthur Horner, a Communist who is secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, went to Paris last autumn and, with no mandate from the Executive Committee, told the Conference of the Communist-led *Confédération du Travail* that he supported the strike of the French miners, he gave the right-wingers both in his own union and in the General Council of the TUC a good excuse for arguing that the time had come to insist on "loyalty." The British labor movement, in its industrial division, they argued, must not be dragged by Communists into a political campaign against the Marshall Plan, Western Union and the whole conception of recovery through democratic planning.

The General Council issued a manifesto calling on affiliates to take measures to "counteract every manifestation of Communist influence" and to defeat "the abject and slavish agents of a foreign power" whose aims were to create economic chaos, wreck the recovery of Western Europe and increase social misery—all in the interests of the USSR. This demand for a purge of Reds in the unions was followed by a further resolution reaffirming approval of the government's policy of price and wage stabilization and recommending that there should be no obstruction by unions of "unpopular" steps aimed at rationalization and increased output.

The reactions on the part of rank-and-file trade unionists were mixed. In the coal fields—particularly in Scotland and Wales, where there is a strong Communist element in the leadership—there was an uneasy feeling that the defeat of the French strike might be followed by attacks on the British miners' standards in the interests of "cheap coal for Marshall Plan Europe." With prices rising and real wages falling, it was asking a lot of the average worker to expect him to detect the "slavish agent of the USSR" in a militant trade-union official who might be a Communist, but whose zeal in pressing his members' claims was undoubted. The Left could still appeal effectively to the traditional view that a trade union exists to defend its members' interests; and not a few workers were left with the suspicion that, in a mixed economy still far away from the socialist state, "coöperation" in increasing production and keeping prices stable could easily mean making the trade union the subordinate organ of capitalism.

Nevertheless, the immense majority of British trade unionists are loyal supporters of the Labour Party, and they were ready, last winter, to concede that "their" government had done great things in promoting social security, full employment and reasonably good regular wages. Most British workers have today a great deal more to lose than their chains; and, though mass-circulation press propaganda has by no means yet turned them into Russophobes, they have no intention of letting themselves be made the victims of "increasing misery" in pursuance of doctrinaire Marxist prescriptions for revolution. Furthermore, during the winter, the rigidity of the "wages-stop" was eased here and there: in particular, the farm workers got a welcome advance in wages. Hopes were high that the Budget would do something to make the pound go further by reduction of indirect taxation; and, above all, there

Aylmer Vallance sends us this article from London, where he is a member of the staff of the *New Statesman and Nation*.

was a pretty general feeling that nothing must be done industrially to embarrass the government—with a general election looming in 1950. Add the fact that Communist tactics in capturing union locals have sometimes been far from scrupulous: most observers had the impression that, up to a month ago, the Left's stock in the trade-union movement was falling.

Has the unpopular Budget once more tilted the balance toward the Left? Such a conclusion would be premature. Nothing that the Communists can say is likely yet to wean the average British trade unionist from his present confidence in the achievements and prospects of moderate, gradualist policies. He might swing decisively Left if the Marshall Plan broke down in chaos and unemployment, or if ECA could be convincingly accused of seeking to depress British standards on Wall Street's orders. Short of these hypothetical eventualities, he will remain *politically* loyal to the government and to the predominantly right-wing TUC General Council. *Industrially*, however, he is beginning to feel that there is a limit to the extent to which he can be asked to forgo wage increases when corporation profits (although there is a voluntary restraint in distribution of dividends) are still rising, and when he can see all around him luxury expenditure which is still within the means of a wealthy class able to draw on capital.

Moreover, apart from the increasingly acute question of prices and wages, the British trade unionist has a further headache. If he were satisfied that the nationalization of coal, transport, gas and electricity had laid a real foundation for further moves in the direction of a socialist state and genuine industrial democracy, he would be ready to concede that the trade unions must abandon their traditional "class-struggle" attitude and take a real responsibility for increasing production. Before this can happen, however, the unions must be convinced that the future will bring substantially greater participation in industry than now exists.

THE ARMISTICE OF THE GIANTS

Behind the scenes the USA and the USSR

agree to a break in the cold war that suits the purposes of both antagonists

by Percy Winner

THE BERLIN BLOCKADE has been lifted, Western Germany's constitution has been approved at Bonn, the Council of Foreign Ministers will meet in Paris: together these events mean that for the first time since the war there is some chance of a definitive resolution of the German problem which has been both the symbol and substance of the West-East cold war.

On the surface this appears to be a personal success for General Clay both as a soldier and a statesman. Yet it is no such thing. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the creator of the airlift failed to impose his view of how the German problem should be solved. Anyone who had the opportunity to listen to Clay in Berlin (as late as last autumn) must have found it hard to escape the impression that he was a brilliant fanatic, profoundly convinced that the opposition of the West to the East was a crusade of good against evil, and dedicated to the mission of preparing for an inevitable, and indeed necessary, war. As the master of Western Germany, and hence of all Germany's economic potential, he favored harnessing this force to revive the German political potential. He was therefore on the side of the Hoover-Draper cartellists and the Wall Street Germany Firsters.

Until Truman's election this faction dominated American policy in Europe. In recent months, however, a change has been occurring behind the scenes in Washington. To high echelons there was nothing sudden about the United States Government's decision to follow up its great political success in Europe—the North Atlantic Pact—by a willingness to modify the Truman Doctrine line of Soviet containment, nor was there any surprise in the Soviet Union's choice—on the morrow of a great military victory for

the Communists in China—to embark on what seems to be a policy of political appeasement in Germany. Both trends have been developing since Truman's election in terms of the ups and downs of the struggle in high American political circles between the Hoover-Draper-Clay cartellists and the Fair Dealers who have been forging to the front in the White House.

Contacts between the Americans and the Soviets had been occurring for several months before Jessup and Malik had their "casual" and "unofficial" meeting in the corridor at Lake Success last February, which so far as the US public was concerned was the start of Soviet-American new relations. The decision to transfer the short, bilateral, secret talks into the area of public awareness, however, was not made until the Fair Dealers' victory over the cartelist faction was won in Washington, and this victory was assured when the US Air Force in Europe, always lukewarm about Clay and the ground soldiers, withdrew its support from the economic old guard. The reasons for the attitude of the Air Force are unclear, but the formula it supported is less obscure.

This formula was prepared in Germany by anti-cartelist Americans. It was submitted secretly to Acheson through Air Force channels and then shown to Truman, who gave his tentative approval after consultation with his Fair Deal economic advisers. In the early stages of the bilateral Soviet-American talks the British and French were not mentioned and the formula was not communicated to London and Paris, but copies of secret documents found their way to other European capitals. The apparent justification of the secrecy was that the contacts were personal and unofficial and within the

framework of agencies of the United Nations in Lake Success and, more important, in Geneva at the headquarters of UNECE—Economic Commission for Europe of the UN Economic and Social Council—where Gunnar Myrdal is the leading figure. In substance the formula calls for control of all German production and trade through UNECE. What is vastly important is that the Soviet Union was represented, hence this means a compromise international formula within the United Nations whereby the Soviet Union would at least indirectly have a voice in the future of the Ruhr.

A subsidiary but not trivial aspect of the formula is the direct economic relations between Western and Eastern Europe—Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary were mentioned in documents which I have seen. Thomas K. Finletter's speech before the British branch of Rotary International at Blackpool and Averell Harriman's press conference in Paris while en route from Washington to Geneva are straws in the wind. Though both stressed Western Europe's economic interrelations, they also hinted at a future redefinition of goods "of potential military value" whose shipment from the West to the East is presently under embargo. UNECE is the only major European organization totally outside the cold war and it is likely that the annual meeting now being held in Geneva will provide proof that the termination of the Berlin blockade can be followed by the lifting of the economic iron curtain.

As a face-saving device for the Americans, Harriman in the initial sessions of the UNECE meeting took the public position that the United States always had been in favor of West-East trade, his effort apparently being to cushion the effect of the real situation, namely that the US position was being basically changed, indeed reversed. Czech delegate Zdenek Augenthaler, who speaks for the Soviet bloc, refrained, however—obviously on orders from Prague to be conciliatory—from calling attention to the reversal. Instead he merely pointed out that Harriman's remarks were outside the

normal agenda. Behind this exchange lay part of the Soviet-American "deal": the change in the US position was to have taken the form of a carefully worded statement anent Washington's decision to revise its previous stand against West-East trade, and Augenthaler was to have welcomed such a change. Possibly the domestic political situation in the US—fear of alienating anti-Soviet elements—may have caused Harriman to adopt tactics other than the agreed ones. The fact that Harriman and Augenthaler were presently on common ground about removal of the economic iron curtain obviously was far less dramatic than lifting the blockade, but in the long run the effects of the meeting of Soviet-American minds on basic economic issues was far more important to the future of Europe and the world than the renewal of train traffic between the West and Berlin, indeed even than the political implications in relieving beleaguered Berlin.

This aspect of the Soviet-American formula naturally is good news for American liberals who have seen the German problem as the task of fully exploiting Germany's economic potential for all of Europe, East as well as West, while at the same time neutralizing the dangers of Germany's political potential. On the latter issue—Germany's political future—the formula amounts to a compromise which may not be wholly welcome to American liberals who fear the unification of Germany. There is little doubt that the government of Western Germany at the moment of its creation already amounts to a caretaker regime which will preside over the destruction of itself to make way for a central government of all Germany. There is also little doubt that a large-scale "new Rapallo" agreement has already been made as a result of negotiations between the Soviets and the West Germans. Murphy's concessions—made, by the way, after he left Clay and began working under the pressure of the Fair Dealers—permitted the victory of Schumacher's Social Democrats, who are the most unitarian of the German

parties. Schumacher wants, and in time will get, for the central government, a central bank, control of credit exchanges and foreign trade, and a large measure of control of the fiscal system. Inevitably Soviet influence will increase, but the choice was between a relatively strong central German government dominated by Social Democrats or by reactionaries. The Fair Dealers realize that the internal drive toward unity is ultimately irresistible. Under the formula, at least, objective limits can be set, and this drive is within a less dangerous framework than if resistance were prolonged. Thus on the issue of unification the Soviets will have won.

On the issue of the withdrawal of occupation troops, it is likely that the Soviets will propose at the Council of Foreign Ministers a one-year limit, while the Americans will counter with, and get, a five-year limit. On the issue of a peace treaty the formula is likely also to be a compromise, possibly with the Russian draft, which has already been shown to the Germans, used as a basis, and the Americans holding out for a longer interval before signature. The Americans are making a political concession on the assumption that politics will be increasingly dominated by economic factors.

The UNECE formula is far more desirable from the American viewpoint than an outright four-power control of the Ruhr. This is, of course, a temporary device, but it is the expectation of the Americans that before economic controls are turned over to the Germans, hence in a measure to the Russians, the UNECE formula will become applicable in some altered fashion to Europe as a whole, since the Fair Deal anti-cartelists are not in Germany only. If the UNECE method is successful in Germany, it may be possible to prevent the development of privately controlled inter-European cartels which from the force of events are likely to become anti-American instead of evolving into international commodity arrangements, especially in coal and steel. Thus

what is being decided is the future of Europe in economic terms which will make the politics of the future.

Lifting the iron curtain amounts to a step in the direction of general European unification, and hence should be welcome to Western European political proponents of "One Europe." Similarly, termination of the cold war should be greeted enthusiastically by friends of the UN. Yet preliminary Soviet-American bilateral negotiations were carried out secretly on the assumption of serious objections from London and Paris. These objections lie close to the surface of British-French official circles: the French are grumbling about dangers of a "new Rapallo"; the British don't share Washington's contentment, despite Bevin's brave remarks about getting Europe "settled for a couple hundred years." Officially these reservations can be removed at the three-power conference in Paris before the Foreign Ministers meeting, but practically they will remain, because they are based not only on fears of a lack of Soviet sincerity or on the danger of German resurgence; they are also based on the fear that the Soviet-American formula will lead to the end of British and French political power in Europe.

A great many Britons and Frenchmen fear that the much desired end of American isolation, as expressed in the North Atlantic Pact, may lead to the beginning of a Soviet-American condominium over Europe, subordination of Europe to two extra-European powers, subordination of the United Nations to Soviet-American bilateralism. A political and economic truce on such terms would be colder for the Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay (though not necessarily for the European peoples) than the cold war itself. Neither Attlee, Churchill nor any conceivable successor would relish buying off the Soviet veto in the Security Council at such a price, since a Soviet-American One World would be the ultimate disaster for British national political power. On the other hand there are long-viewed Britons

who, perhaps Pollyannishly, prefer to see a new phase of Soviet-American relations, a temporary marriage of convenience. Americans, they believe, are learning to play the game, or as Walter Lippmann put it recently:

We may, I think, have confidence that the new directors of our German and European policy will not be unprepared for what is ahead of them. But their difficult task is made more difficult by the great amount of misinformation and miscalculation which they have inherited, which they cannot openly disavow until they have . . . readjusted our policy to the realities.

One aspect is plain, both of Soviet appeasement and new American realism: namely, that the keys to the new phase are to be found less in Europe than in Asia and America, less in political intentions than in economic expediencies.

The Soviets needed the West's economic help in order to protect their rear against the West, politically and militarily. But they lacked bargaining power, leverage. They got what they needed when Mao Tse-tung reached the Yangtze and the gates of Shanghai.

The difference between what happened to the British warships on the Yangtze and the American warships at Shanghai is simply this: the British fought and will not return; the Americans did not fight and *will* return. They (and they alone among the non-Asiatics, leaving out Russia, of course, because Russia is perhaps more Asiatic than European) will profit by a new Soviet-sanctioned version of the "Open Door." To get this, the Americans were prepared to be conciliatory in Europe, to make what Europeans would call a deal with the Soviets. But the Soviets, even in Asia, have not yielded unwillingly; they not only accept but need the Americans. In a way Mao Tse-tung's success can be more embarrassing, perhaps even dangerous, for Moscow than was Chiang Kai-shek's failure for Washington. The reason is not only Mao's potential Titoism. China south of Manchuria is a vast agricultural area which can't be developed by Russian aid alone. The revolution for which Mao

speaks is of peasants, of the nineteenth century. Modern Communism can't evolve in China without the development of modern industrialism.

What is about to happen is a struggle for the continent which, according to Owen Lattimore, "is now out of control," with its "uncontrollability nearing its full development." It remains to be seen whether the Luce type of Asia Firsters in America will welcome the new version of the "Open Door." So far as Europe is concerned, it appears that the American negotiators have done their yielding to the Russians not entirely unwillingly. Here the dominant factor is the developing economic situation in the US; here there is a counterpart of the Russian attitude in Asia—at the moment of apparent victory, the victor recognizes that he needs the vanquished.

Paradoxical as it may seem, it is now to America's interest to let the Russian satellite countries get the economic help by which the Soviet Union can protect its rear against the West. For unless the Western countries get these outlets, America would face the end of the Marshall Plan with a choice: either a new Marshall Plan or a change in American economic policy by which European countries would be allowed to compete with producers in the US and in markets now dominated by Americans. America can afford neither; nor can it afford a renewed danger of European collapse, with its political implications. If the "deal" goes through, if Moscow and Washington decide on butter as against guns between them, the pattern of relations among the nations of the world will be shifted almost as much as they have been by two world wars.

It will be noticed that in all this neither ideology nor the atom bomb has been mentioned. From the viewpoint of Europeans who want nothing more than to avoid another war, and of Asiatics who want above all else to finish their war (and settle down in the twentieth instead of the nineteenth century), ideology, the atom bomb and nearly everything connected with them count for far less than most Americans can imagine.

THE ECONOMICS OF THE MIRROR

The President's Council of Economic

Advisers reflects, not reforms, America's

methods of doing business

by Alfred Sherrard

THE EMPLOYMENT ACT of 1946 has been law for a little more than three years. In their preface to *The Economic Reports of the President* (Harcourt, Brace; \$2.75), the members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers invite us to appraise the progress made during this period "in developing national economic policies geared to the maintenance of prosperity." The volume at hand offers, as materials for such an appraisal, reprints of the five reports submitted by the President to Congress under the terms of the Employment Act, together with two reports by the Council of Economic Advisers and the two reports of the Congressional Joint Committee.

It is a fair invitation, and the quantity of material seems ample. Yet as one reads through these documents, there is a sense of evasion. Something is missing. The test cannot be made. What is it that we are supposed to appraise? What policies are we to assess?

This embarrassment stems, perhaps, from the fact that, while the Employment Act was drawn up in the shadow of the Great Depression, in anticipation of future depressions, these reports were written in the blaze of full employment and inflation. Although an ideal program of economic stabilization should be able to cope with inflation as well as with unemployment, it would hardly be fair to blame the Employment Act or even the Administration for the course of prices since 1945. But we must look with fishy eye at the President when he says, at the beginning of the Economic Report for 1949, "Let us all remember that our



DRAWINGS BY SNYDER

unparalleled prosperity has not been maintained by chance."

Any claim that "we planned it that way" with reference to the reconversion process has to be made in the teeth of some very disorderly facts.

If it is not feasible, then, to assess our progress under the Employment Act by the light of recent economic events, how are we to proceed? The Economic Report for 1948 offers a hint: "Since our first experience with the Employment Act is occurring under conditions that give priority to measures needed to counteract inflation, we are given time to consider carefully the measures that will aid in meeting the threat of unemployment at some time in the future. But we must not fritter away the time thus granted us." Accepting this suggestion, we might consider the reports as outlines of what the President and his economic advisers have been thinking about future employment policy. Have they made progress along these lines? Do the reports offer a solid basis for believing that the threat of depression can be successfully countered?

The first problem of employment policy is one of forecasting. How imminent is the danger of depression?

Well, some prices have recently begun to fall; others have not. "Price responsiveness to the shifting of demand leaves unanswered the question whether the falling off in demand at one place in the market is a healthy reaction to the satisfaction of accumulated needs or an unhealthy reaction to a growing discrepancy between continuing need and declining ability to buy." Or, to paraphrase a long sentence, maybe yes, maybe no.

Now turn to inventories, another of the standard indicators of economic change. Are they presently high enough to constitute a warning or are they likely to increase further? The answer of the 1949 Economic Report is, "Present inventories could become burdensome in a period of falling sales." No doubt. A sirloin steak could become burdensome in a period of indigestion, and a double chocolate sundae with beer could bring on a healthy readjustment. One cannot blame the President or the Council for not knowing which situation confronts us, because nobody does know. But why the pompous stance to deliver the vacant phrase?

If the reports fail to tell us where we are, they do have something to say about what we should do. With regard to prices, we should pursue "sound economic policies." What price policies are sound under present conditions? "Discriminating and prudent price adjustments," is the answer. And, in brief, "It does not lie within the scope of this Report to point to exactly what individual price adjustments are required."

With regard to taxes, we find that, "On general economic grounds, tax measures should be devised to result in an increase of at least 4 billion dollars." That has the merit of definiteness, but the origin or significance of the figure is not explained. And concrete measures to raise this amount of revenue, besides "reducing inequities," should "absorb some of the high current profits while avoiding tax measures which would lead business firms to charge higher prices or impair their ability to maintain desirable rates of

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expansion," and should also "guard against aggravating any recessionary tendencies and provide sufficient fiscal flexibility to enable quick readjustments if such tendencies should become strong." Once more the principles are admirable to the point of being unexceptionable. But what do they mean?

Attempting to evaluate these reports by feel, the legendary blind men would probably conclude, "Mashed potatoes—the economic policy of the President and the Council of Economic Advisers is a mound of mashed potatoes." It does feel that way: formless, sticky, damp. Yet we know that the elephant is neither a rope, a wall nor a tree. Perhaps in the case of these reports, too, a better perspective will show a different picture. Let us try. Let us step back and, making a general survey of their problem, put some specific questions to the authors of these reports. Perhaps if we choose our questions properly we may be offered more satisfactory answers.

The Employment Act of 1946 was an outgrowth of the economic controversies of the 1930's. It was passed by the last Roosevelt Congress in its last session, and the first of the Economic Reports was submitted to the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress. Against this background, the emphasis placed by the authors of the Act on the mere *principle* of government responsibility for the maintenance of employment is understandable. It is therefore significant that the principle is never questioned and hardly even defended in the reports under review. Many sentences are devoted, of course, to the praise of private initiative and of voluntary coöperation among businessmen, farmers and workers; but whenever the possibility of depression is mentioned, government is conspicuously in the center of the picture.

Not only is the principle of government responsibility accepted throughout these reports, but it is accepted in what used to be its most controversial form. "It is well-nigh axiomatic," says the Council of Economic Advisers in its 1949 report, "that the government

should operate at a substantial surplus during a period of unparalleled prosperity when inflationary pressures persist. This is essential not only to deal sensibly with the current situation, but also to permit fiscal policy to be reversed if recessionary trends should later develop which might call both for tax reductions to stimulate business and markets and for additional public expenditure." Belief in compensatory fiscal policy may be "well-nigh axiomatic" in 1949, but it was certainly nothing of the sort even ten years ago. For here in this bland, if circuitous, remark about "tax reduction . . . and additional public expenditure" is contained what used to be known as deficit financing. Remember "You can't spend your way to prosperity"? Now it is an axiom that you can—and that is a tremendous, perhaps a decisive, revolution in public opinion.

An economist, reading these reports with the controversies of the 1930's in mind, must be impressed by the pervasive influence of Lord Keynes that they betray. "Betray" is probably the right word, because the authors seem to be largely unconscious of this influence and even deny it, by implication. The nation's Economic Budget is described, for example, as "primarily a device for the measurement of our economic activity. Use of this device is not wedded to any particular economic theory." This is perfectly correct, but the device is none the less an outgrowth of Keynes's analysis; the particular classification of expenditures used in the tables focuses attention on the categories stressed by Keynes in *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, and the fact that such a classification has by now come to be accepted as a merely objective summary of events is evidence of the thoroughgoing triumph of Keynes's ideas.

The reports of the Economic Advisers contain traces of an alternative, non-Keynesian view of the economy; a view that might be described as the *wise-balance-cum-perpetuum-mobile* theory. Perhaps the clearest statement of this alternative view is the

following, which appears toward the end of the Economic Report for 1948. "The price mechanism may serve either to promote or to prevent a safe balance among prices, wages and profits. The greater the success of our free-enterprise system in maintaining this balance, the less need there will be for direct governmental intervention in the economic system. . . . One of the purposes of the Employment Act was to provide a new climate for pricing policies." These sentences, and others of like tenor scattered throughout the reports, imply—although they do not assert—that there exists in principle some set of prices, wages and profits that would assure full employment. This view is directly contrary to Keynes's contention that in a period of inadequate demand there is *no* adjustment of prices or wages that can be counted on to provide full employment.

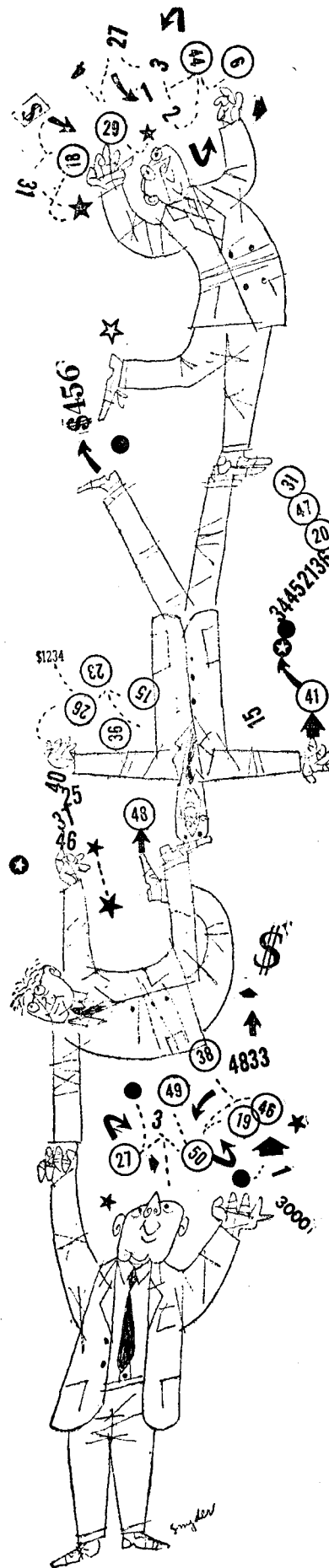
And yet the statements that I have quoted serve merely to dilute the Keynesian tone of the report in which they occur; they do not actually constitute a conflicting interpretation of the economy. Why? Because no attempt is made to specify what the proper relation of prices to wages to profits might be. Does the unicorn exist? we ask. "Most certainly," comes the answer. Then what does he look like; where is he to be found? "Why, we have no idea. We haven't *seen* the beast. We have no responsibility for him. We simply maintain that he exists." Such a statement is hardly debatable, and its acceptance would have little effect on the corpus of natural history. Analogous remarks about balanced price relationships are likely to leave little trace in the history of economic policy. A proposition that cannot be wrong cannot be useful either.

The Keynesian propositions that appear in these reports, however, could be wrong, and they could also influence policy. What they amount to is that consumption is the relatively stable and predictable part of the expenditure stream, in contrast to business investment—which is volatile, unpredictable, and in its nature subject

to wide fluctuations: a sort of unruly *deus ex machina* on which we are forced to rely to some extent for our prosperity. Two practical conclusions follow: First, we should be well advised, in the interest of stability, to increase the role of consumption in the economy. Second, however, we must be prepared for occasional depressions in any case, since investment is indispensable as well as unruly and can only be reduced in status, not eliminated (while consumption too is only *relatively* stable, not wholly manageable). Both these conclusions stand out prominently in the reports, although sometimes in peculiar contexts.

Our experiment, then, yields ambiguous results. By stepping back, by reminding ourselves of their grounding in the economics of the prewar years, we do seem to discern in these reports something less amorphous than mashed potatoes. But what is it? I have mentioned Keynes, yet it is fairly clear that the Economic Advisers are not convinced and unanimous followers of Keynes. I have mentioned the principle of governmental responsibility, and more particularly the principle of compensatory fiscal policy. Yet neither of these is stated explicitly or defended in the reports; both are simply taken for granted. And here we may have a clue. Is it possible that what is taken for granted is not the Council's nor the President's own view of the economy, but rather some other view—wavering, undefined; some view dimly held by the public at large and reflected back to us in these reports? Is it possible that what we have before us is simply a mirror? That would explain the sense that there is more here than quite meets the eye. It may be that what we see is not something, but the reflection of something.

What do we find in a mirror? Ourselves, of course. But familiar features sometimes assume a new cast. Notice, for example, the deep-seated moralism in our conception of economic problems. The entire discussion of prices reveals this attitude. "In some cases wage increases forced prices up. In other instances they served as an ex-



cuse for raising prices unnecessarily, thus resulting in even wider profit margins." This is a view of the price mechanism that is shared by a fair proportion of newspaper writers and, I would guess, by the majority of voters. And yet it is flatly in contradiction to every systematic *explanation* of price movements that has ever been offered—whether theoretical or empiric. All explanations assume either that sellers consciously attempt to maximize their profits or, alternately, that they react blindly to impersonal market forces. From either angle, the idea of an *excuse* for raising prices would have no meaning. Neither a market automaton nor a profit-seeking entrepreneur needs excuses, any more than the barometer needs excuses for rising.

In the view of the President and the Council of Economic Advisers, however, profits do constantly need to be justified. "Profits become unreasonable when they yield more than the amounts which support adequate incentives for production and growth." As technical economics this is double-talk, since "adequate" remains undefined, but as evidence of an attitude it is important. It provides the underpinning, in fact, for one of the very few explicit judgments expressed in these reports—that profits are at present too high.

Wages, by the same token, should be as high as possible. This principle, too, is qualified to the point of becoming meaningless, in any literal sense. "Money wages may, however, become too high when they run ahead of the supply of goods so that they lead only to more inflation instead of more consumer enjoyment; or when they attempt to yield to a particular group a larger share of the national output than can be theirs without undue deprivation of others; or when they induce unemployment." The tone, nevertheless, is different; in the case of wages, the burden of proof is placed on those who argue against increase. If we take note, further, of the constant reference to "sound" and "free" collective bargaining, it is clear that a considerable change in popular attitudes since the 1930's is recorded here.

In several other respects these re-

ports mirror what I take to be the outlines of hazy popular views on economic matters. Take tariffs, for example. "We do not have to fear so-called foreign competition when we have maximum production, employment and purchasing power. We must not, of course, indulge in indiscriminate reduction of barriers to imports. Such a policy is not contemplated." What does that mean? Nothing, as economics. Emotionally, it means that we are receptive but nervous with regard to free trade. Or monopolies. "A healthy competition among sellers is an indispensable prerequisite for the proper functioning of the price mechanism in promoting a balanced growth of the rates of consumption and investment. . . . The importance of strengthening the anti-trust laws has been repeatedly emphasized in earlier Economic Reports." This has become an article of faith to the American public as well as to the Council of Economic Advisers. Useless to ask what stronger anti-trust laws would look like.

Finally, in a section devoted to agriculture, occurs a phrase that the reviewer—being a city child—can interpret only as a similar article of faith: "The long-range agricultural policy of the government should be aimed at preserving the family-sized farm. . . ." This may have more specific content than parallel statements regarding small competitive business, but it, too, is presented as a self-evident, sacred and not especially urgent objective.

What we see in the mirror is the face of Practical Virtue, with its benign disregard for consistency. It is our own face. We are in favor of unbounded good for everybody, and opposed to recognizing contradictions. Adequate profits, but not too high. High wages, but without undue deprivation of others. Free trade, but not too free.

Yet as we sigh and turn aside from the homely countenance in the glass, a sentence flashes at us out of the background. "It is felt that final consumers should absorb at least 75 percent of all goods and services within a few years."

This is forthright and definite. And the authors of the report seem to mean what they say, because they continue: "This higher consumption pattern must be brought about by a substantially equivalent increase in total consumer income. It will require improvements in the distribution of that income not only to avoid areas of want in a land of plenty, but also to avoid higher saving than is necessary to permit the expansion of investment needed for stable growth." There is nothing woolly here (although the prose could have been written by a wool-bearing creature). These sentences say clearly that we need to consume a larger fraction of our national income, and that the way to bring this about is to distribute the income more equitably.

Vague, moralistic, indecisive—and then, at a crucial point, quite definite. Suddenly the focus changes. It may be that this outrageous combination of attitudes is after all a workable one. Perhaps the key to full employment in the years ahead may consist in not raising unanswerable questions. Ideas of the just price, of the fair wage, of reasonable profit, may have enough pragmatic content to provide a structure within which the economy can operate. This is more likely to be true if they continue to prove as flexible as they have been during the past twenty years. Any adjustment that rests on so many unresolved contradictions is bound to be precarious—but so is life.

Yet however firm the framework, a private-enterprise economy is always liable to depression—and here we return to Keynes. When depression comes, searching for the proper relation of wages to profits is just as far from the point as searching for the proper price of gold. When depression comes, government must act directly on the income stream by increasing its expenditures and reducing its revenues. This essential lesson seems to be recognized in the Economic Reports of the President. And if in this particular they are a true mirror of public opinion, then the objectives of the Employment Act of 1946 can probably be attained.

THE BRASS

by James A. Wechsler

ERNST REUTER, the eloquent, impressive Social Democratic Mayor of Berlin, visited Washington in March at the invitation of the US Conference of Mayors. During his sojourn he was guest of honor at the weekly luncheon of the National Press Club, regularly attended by several hundred correspondents and government officials. Reuter's moving description of Berlin's resistance to the Soviet thrust lifted even the elder statesmen of the press corps to their feet; the ovation was remarkably intense. Most of the audience, and especially the Army and State Department dignitaries who occupied seats at the head table, remained uncomfortably silent, however, during an exchange that occurred in the ensuing question period.

The question was whether Reuter knew Samuel Wahrhaftig, a 33-year-old American Military Government official who was abruptly suspended early in January on suspicion of "subversive activity," flown back to the United States and finally dismissed from his post a few weeks ago without a hearing. Reuter replied emphatically that he knew Wahrhaftig well, regarded him as one of "our best friends" and as one of the AMG's "most able" employees.

It is a pity that only a handful of newspapers recorded this comment. When Wahrhaftig was first suspended, the stories got page-one recognition nearly everywhere; the Army's refusal to make public any specific charges multiplied the innuendo. Possibly most of the correspondents had forgotten Wahrhaftig's name by the time Reuter spoke, or perhaps a refutation is never as lively as a charge, even when recited under comparatively dramatic circumstances. In any case it is probably news to most Americans that the anti-Communist mayor of Berlin offered this testimonial to an

AND SAMUEL WAHRHAFTIG

official whom the Army Department fired as "subversive."

Despite Reuter's statement, Wahrhaftig is still fighting for vindication.

Under the incredible loyalty procedures employed by the Army in handling civilian employees, the accused is denied a hearing or even a statement of charges *until after he is dismissed*. Then, for the first time, he gets a chance to defend himself if his spirit has not been broken and if he can sustain himself during the long interval. He is allowed to appeal to the Army Security Board and, after painful delay, he receives a hearing. The same procedure was widely denounced as "un-American" when "Happy" Chandler applied it to Leo Durocher in a somewhat less serious matter. You can't suspend a man before he is heard, the editors cried.

As this is written, Wahrhaftig, suspended on January 6, is still sweating it out. He has received word that his hearing will be held on May 19. He has just returned from a two-week trip to Germany—a pilgrimage made at his own expense and while unemployed—to obtain affidavits from many other Social-Democratic and labor leaders, who were stunned by his ouster. Meanwhile, however, Thurman Arnold has volunteered to direct his appeal. Senator Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) has demanded drastic reform in the Pentagon's loyalty setup.

The evidence is overwhelming that Wahrhaftig is the victim of an inside job and that the offenders are making desperate efforts to cover up. On the day after the first report of Wahrhaftig's suspension I talked to officials here who had worked closely with him in Germany. All were militantly anti-Communist themselves; all agreed that Wahrhaftig shared their views and that his ouster was preposterous. Subsequently I spent many hours with Wahrhaftig. A CCNY graduate and an ex-GI, he is a sophisticated lib-

eral who never had any illusions about the Communists. He does have strong convictions about supporting the Center and the democratic Left. In short, he understands that democracy can be effective in Europe only if it combats the Right as well as the Communists. Unfortunately the AMG has placed increasing reliance on conservative American businessmen who want to chant the virtues of "free enterprise" to the restless peoples of Europe. Wahrhaftig's dismissal may partially reflect the prevailing winds.

But the crackdown was too crude and inept.

Wahrhaftig had received some advance intimations that Army intelligence agents were trying to put the finger on him. More than a year earlier he was "investigated," reportedly because he sanctioned admission of Communists into the Hesse government—an act duplicated in many other parts of Germany before the cold war was frozen. The "investigation" revealed nothing; he was cleared. It took another year to drive him out.

After he was shipped back to the US, the old army game began: hurry up and wait. He was informed he would be subjected to "further investigation," with the FBI conducting the inquiry this time. He would not get a hearing or an opportunity to answer any of the charges. If the inquiry sustained the original—and still unspecified—charges, he would be fired. If the inquiry cleared him, he would be returned to his post without ever learning the nature of the accusations. Two months elapsed. Then he got word of his dismissal. Accompanying the notice was a document that the Army euphemistically described as a statement of charges.

Two things are newsworthy about this document. It has the rambling, vague quality of a preliminary report; it is obviously a rewrite of the orig-

inal intelligence "findings" which set the stage for his removal. He is accused of various "associations" with German Communists, but no names, dates or circumstances are mentioned; a similar dossier could undoubtedly be written about General Clay or any other AMG official who has been actively functioning in Germany's political world. He is accused of "falsifying documents" to aid Communists; no evidence is offered, but there is reason to believe that this refers to disputed curfew passes he issued.

The second crucial point about this statement is that not a single sentence refers to any activity by Wahrhaftig on American soil. Yet the Army claims that the FBI inquiry "upheld" the original accusations. Did the FBI send investigators to Germany? Or is the Army using J. Edgar Hoover's name to salvage its own reputation?

Throughout the so-called investigation of Wahrhaftig that preceded and followed his suspension, key officials who had worked with him—and one of whom gave him an efficiency rating of "excellent"—were ignored. Neither they nor men like Reuter and other Social-Democratic and Christian Democratic Union leaders were questioned. Obviously the Army might have been spared its present embarrassment if routine inquiries had been addressed to such sources.

The testimonials which Wahrhaftig has assembled prove the ineptitude or cynicism of the "investigation" that preceded his removal. A municipal flatfoot would blush over a similar performance.

The motivations of the men who framed the case against Wahrhaftig may be debated. There are ugly indications of private prejudice; Wahrhaftig is a fiery, tenacious character who may have offended the sensitivity of duller brass. Whether stupidity or venom inspired the prosecutors is less important than the impact of this proceeding on our Socialist and labor allies in Berlin.

LEFT OF CENTER

TWO PARTIES of the Left in all probability will no longer be parties in the sense of actually competing in elections. The Workers' Party, Trotskyite offshoot, now calls itself the International Socialist League; the Socialist Party still calls itself a party but describes its new political-action program as part of its "growing emphasis on fundamental program and ideas in contrast to short-term electoral action." Primarily, the Socialists are interested in two things: (a) a program that will go beyond both the New and the Fair Deal; (b) the formation of an American parallel to the British Labour Party. Those interested in what Socialists are thinking today are referred to a stimulating article by Daniel Bell in the *Modern Review* on "Socialists, What Now?"

Unlike the above, however, the United Labor Party of America—a group that backed Wallace but opposed the Progressive Party—will run municipal candidates in Akron, Ohio.

The CIO-PAC is planning to wage its 1949 battles in some 500 selected communities. The PAC is interested both in the municipalities and in the dry-run for 1950.

Labor continues to find that the political payoff this year has been much better in certain states than in national government. In the State of Washington, for instance, there is a new disability compensation, recently made law. In Oregon, accident-compensation benefits were raised about 23 percent; unemployment benefits were upped from \$20 to \$25 and the weeks extended from 20 to 26. In Minnesota, accident benefits were raised from \$27 to \$30 and death benefits raised from \$7,500 to \$10,000. In Colorado, unemployment benefits

were increased and workers on "legal" strike were declared eligible for payments. In Ohio, compensation benefits were increased by a unanimous vote. In Idaho, where the combined efforts of farmers, labor and other groups removed Henry Dworshak from the Senate and installed a Democratic legislature, a bill was passed by both houses to include silicosis under coverage of the state's compensation laws. Lame-duck Governor Robins applied the veto, thereby giving the farmer-labor alliance a new incentive for 1950.

In New York State, the disability-payment law, proposed and pushed through by Governor Dewey, has left a bitter aftertaste. The bill was *opposed* by the CIO and was *endorsed* by Thomas Murray, president of the State Federation of Labor. BUT—within the AFL, the powerful International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union disagreed. Dozens of other AFL unions in the Liberal Party's Trade Union Council disagreed. Finding himself challenged, Murray circularized the state's AFL unions, trying to obtain their support of the bill. The ILGWU sent out a counter letter, urging locals to oppose the measure. In view of the intra-AFL battle, there is keen concern over whom Dewey will appoint to head the commission to administer the law, since it was rumored the job was to go to Tom Murray's son-in-law.

As insurance schemes spread from state to state, liberals find a new and unwelcome ally: the insurance companies are demanding to get into the act. In Massachusetts, the AFL and the CIO are demanding that the workmen's accident compensation be taken out of the hands of the private carriers and turned over to a state fund. The unions charge that in Massachusetts, 40 cents out of every insurance dollar goes into overhead, whereas in other states that have a similar fund—Nevada, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming—the overhead runs from four to twelve percent.

The National Council of Union

Labor Veterans, expanded offshoot of the Union Labor Legionnaires, is supporting compulsory health insurance.

Two new publications will soon be backing the Progressive Party: the *Monthly Review*, to be edited by Leo Huberman, educational director of the National Maritime Union when it was close to the Communist Party, and Paul Sweezy, one of the editors of the Marxist-minded *Science and Society*; and the *Compass*, a New York daily, to be edited by Ted Thackrey, late of the *Post*, and to be financed by Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine.

Although three Catholic groups, representing the Health and Hospital Bureaus of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Conference of Catholic Charities, and the Catholic Hospital Association, have expressed their support for a voluntary instead of a compulsory national health program, they do not speak officially for the Church. The Pittsburgh *Catholic* says: "When it is remembered that these [private] insurance plans succeed only because persons who don't need medical or surgical treatment help to pay the bills of those who do, the argument for 'socialized medicine' becomes hard to answer. Why not enroll everybody in the country in a health insurance plan, paid for by contributions from all [taxes], and entitling everyone to the medical and surgical care he needs?"

The ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) is conducting a nationwide survey of Congressional election problems in 1950. The results are to form the basis for a pinpoint campaign in selected districts.

The Daily Worker says, apropos of Baseball Commissioner Chandler's restoring Giant-manager Leo Durocher to his job, that this action is "a calculated attempt to fan the current Fascist-like terror against the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples." A special editorial criticizes the *DW's* sports writers for failure to recognize "this social aspect of the Durocher case."

HAROLD L. ICKES: The State Department's Siesta

THE EVASIONS and double talk going on in official circles in the United States with respect to Spain are highly disturbing. Is the US conniving, *sub rosa*, with pro-Franco sympathizers in other countries so that Franco will be able to insinuate his nose under the United Nations tent? Certain signs point in this direction. Consequently, those of us who appraise the bloody-handed Franco as the butcher that he is should serve notice on the State Department and the Army that no sellout of democratic principles will prevent us from holding accountable those who would sully American honor by a friendly assignation with the Spanish dictator.

Americans who condemned Hitler and Mussolini should not be deceived by illusory arguments for recognizing Franco, the little brother of Hitler and Mussolini, or admitting him to the United Nations. Everyone of any intelligence knows that if Franco is permitted such an association, it will be with the knowledge and consent of our government, whatever the State Department may pretend to the contrary. America can and should prevent any whitewashing of Franco with a view to permitting him ultimately to creep into the bed of the democracies.

We should shun bartering our democratic honor for any supposed assistance that Franco, with his badly equipped army, might give in the unfortunate event of war with Russia. It is inconceivable that Franco could or would align himself with a Communist country against which, during the last war, he sent the best division that Spain was capable of raising. The Allies defeated Mussolini and Hitler without any aid from either of the two Iberian dictators. If we could not defeat Russia without Spain and Portugal, we could not win with their aid. Association with the armies of Spain and Portugal would seriously dilute the morale of the Western armies.

Franco is already reaching into Washington to weaken our will. I wonder how many Americans have

even heard of Dr. José de Lequerica, the wealthy lawyer of Bilbao, Spain, who has spent about a year in Washington cunningly weaving a web for our entanglement. The name of this agent of Franco's does not appear in the Congressional Directory as an attaché of the Spanish Embassy. He was Franco's ambassador to France before the collapse in 1940. When Marshal Pétain was France's ambassador to Madrid in 1938, he and de Lequerica had a chance for an acquaintance that ripened into close fellowship when the latter went to Vichy. In Vichy, de Lequerica, the anonymous representative today of Franco in Washington, was on intimate terms with Hitler's Intelligence Service. After the defeat of American and Philippine troops at Corregidor, this vassal of Franco gave an ostentatious dinner in honor of the Japanese in Vichy, to celebrate the death and capture of US soldiers.

Ostensibly, de Lequerica was sent by Franco to Washington as a "general inspector" of Spanish diplomatic posts. A legitimate general inspector could have justified his stay in Washington for a few days. Then he would have moved on in order to continue his inspection of Spanish diplomatic posts in other countries. But de Lequerica has tarried here. Also, despite the fact that he has never been officially accredited to the US, he has started to build up a personal staff for some unknown purpose, and without the consent of the Department of State.

Does our State Department know about the activities of this undercover agent of Franco's? If not, does it have its head stuck, ostrichlike, in the sand, as it has on other occasions? Is the State Department aware that, during the sessions of the Republican National Convention last June, de Lequerica spent his time in Philadelphia doing what he could to help nominate a candidate who, if elected, might adopt a less just attitude toward butcher Franco? Does the State Department know that de Lequerica has

brought to America, or is bringing, persons actively associated with him when he represented Spain at Vichy—assistants who seemed to be as devoted to Hitler as de Lequerica himself?

One of these is Colonel Mendoza who was his military attaché at Vichy. Another Franco hireling at both Paris and Vichy was one M. Rafael, also headed in this direction. The Consul General at Casablanca at the time of the landing of American troops in North Africa was one de Propper. He was suspected by the Allies of doing everything possible to aid the Germans indirectly. After the liberation of France, de Propper was proposed to that country as Counselor of the Spanish Embassy. Free France promptly declared him to be *persona non grata*, an unusual proceeding. De Propper, another wealthy Franco adherent, is now on his way to Washington to join the de Lequerica junta. Apparently what is not good enough for Paris is good enough for Washington.

If the State Department knows anything about this nest of adders, it persists in maintaining a strange silence. Recently the State Department, in collaboration with the Department of Justice, denied visas to Socialists from Great Britain and France, respectively, while at the same time cheerfully granting visas to admitted Communists from Russia. In view of this record, no one should expect the State Department to be consistent. However, we do have the right to ask it to be at least intelligent. To this writer there is a notable lack of even *ersatz* intelligence in refusing to exchange ambassadors with Spain while at the same time allowing a man who is an ambassador incognito to run the Spanish Embassy as if he were the *de-jure* ambassador.

There is strong evidence of America's official willingness to become a silent, if inactive, partner in the conspiracy that is afoot to whitewash the bloody hands of Franco.

HAROLD L. ICKES

BOOKS IN REVIEW

PORTRAIT OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

"SOME WESTERN LEADERS do not understand the facts of Russian life." This massive understatement is made casually in Walter Duranty's new book about "the Politburo—the men who run Russia," but it rests on evidence which fills the newspapers and the diplomats' speeches of our time. Our own hysteria is to blame, and the Russians' stupid policies which build it,

STALIN & CO., by Walter Duranty
(William Sloane Associates; \$3).

and behind both are generations of plain, non-malevolent ignorance. But one simple factor in our lack of understanding is a failure to study how the Russian system actually works. The theory of the Soviet state fascinates Marxists and non-Marxists alike, and it literally enthalls the deviationists who still dominate the interpretation of Soviet Russia to the West. A foreigner trying to understand the United States from the Declaration of Independence, Frances Trollope or Jean-Paul Sartre, and Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* might well ask for a book which would explain how the American system operates. An American trying to understand Soviet Russia is in the same plight.

The merit of Duranty's book is that it is a partial answer to this problem. It is an examination of one aspect of how the Russian system works. It describes in journalistic style and detail the fourteen men (as of last year) who quite literally run Russia, and it tells a little about how they run it. It is frankly journalism; it is considerably less inclusive and less scholarly than Julian Towster's *Political Power in the USSR, 1917-1947*, which is also an examination of the apparatus of power in the Soviet Union. But it is more readable, and Duranty's wisdom about Russia is to be found more between the lines than in the footnotes.

Most of his book is an analysis of

by Joseph Barnes

the political records of the individuals who make up the Politburo. Like the secretariat and the Orgburo, which deal with personnel and party-organization problems, the Politburo is a subcommittee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Although it is not mentioned in the Soviet Constitution, it exercises supreme power in Russia between meetings of the Communist Party congress. There have been only two congresses in the last sixteen years. Signs have multiplied in recent weeks that another is likely to be held before the end of 1949. The chief item on its agenda will be a review of the work of the present Politburo. It would be comforting to think that Duranty's review might be read by delegates to the congress; the fact that it won't is no excuse for American readers to miss it.

Zhdanov died last September, and Voznesensky's present position is in doubt. Of the twelve other members, eleven are top-ranking officials of the Soviet Union, head of the state or chairman or deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers. Several of them, like Molotov and Mikoyan, have recently been released from the operation of individual ministries. Speculation that this involved demotion for them was possible (as long as they remained members of the Politburo and Vice-Premiers) only in the context of our Western refusal to apply to Russia standards of political analysis at least as informed as we would demand for an appraisal of politics in any American city. Duranty interprets these changes, which have made the Politburo and the Premier's office almost synonymous, as at least a step toward the eventual fulfillment of Lenin's promise that the tutelage of the Communist Party, if not the state itself, will wither away.

These men are not nearly so mysterious as we would like to believe. Duranty has met and talked with a good many of them, and there is not one, with the possible exception of Malenkov, who has not at some time had dealings with foreigners. Their speeches have been published, and even if we know few details of their personal or private lives, we know something of their backgrounds and a good deal about the division of labor among them.

Duranty's group portrait will startle many readers of the American press since the war. It is his conclusion that "they are not a set of greedy, self-indulgent gangsters like the Nazi leaders of Germany." They all won their present positions on merit; all are, and with the single exception of Andreyev, always were, Stalin's men; they are one of the tightest-knit ruling groups the world has known. In the event of Stalin's death, no one of them is likely to take his place. Unless there is a war, Duranty believes, the slow but steady trends in Russian life will continue to move against "the perpetuation of dictatorship in general and of an individual dictator in particular."

As a political device, he thinks the Politburo has been least successful in the field of foreign affairs. Finland in 1939 and Yugoslavia more recently have been notable examples of bad reporting from foreign agents and bad decisions at the top, "perhaps through the very nature of a highly centralized, single-party system." Similar mistakes go a long way toward explaining the cold war. In domestic affairs, according to this report, the Politburo has held to the view that the Russian people are more interested in self-improvement and the pursuit of happiness than in liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The idea that the Politburo is "a group of heartless men who

have clamped an iron tyranny upon two hundred million slaves" has found wide favor in America. The only trouble is that it doesn't fit the facts.

"We are forced to act in the world as it is, and not the world as we wish it were, or as we would like it to become," Duranty quotes Henry L. Stimson at the beginning of his book. He has written about Russia as it is, refraining from moral judgments on the men he describes. He uses effective comparisons with what we know in our own world: Kaganovich has some of "the same ease and frankness of speech and personal attractiveness" Wendell Willkie had; the Politburo has traits in common with Notre Dame in the days of the Four Horsemen, and Stalin is their coach, Knute Rockne. This makes it a cheering book in a grim year, and it is not all false cheer. Nothing is so frightening in the daylight as it is in the dark.

Joseph Barnes was Moscow correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune before the war and returned there for short stays in 1942 (with Wendell Willkie) and 1945.

ARTFUL DODGER

DAYS WITH BERNARD SHAW, by Stephen Winsten (Vanguard; \$3.75).

SIXTEEN SELF SKETCHES, by Bernard Shaw (Dodd, Mead; \$3.50).

THESE TWO VOLUMES, appearing simultaneously, should serve to convince us of a fact which up to now it has been possible to dispute: that there is only one man qualified to write about Bernard Shaw and that man is Shaw himself. When Stephen Winsten attempts it, the result is a kind of Shavian miscellany with Shaw left out. The well-known pronouncements and witticisms are all to be found in his book, and even though they have been said a hundred times before, it is good to be reminded of them again. But the kindly old gentleman who comes to sit in Winsten's parlor day after day and who, when plied with his favorite sweets and a warm fire, goes through his repertory of tricks like a lovable old show dog, cannot be Shaw.

One feels all along that Old Neighbor Shaw is as much of a false face as

Old Mephistopheles Shaw, and that Winsten had the opportunity, if anyone ever had, of seeing and giving us Shaw, the man. His failure to do so—except in the few moving glimpses of Shaw suffering in loneliness after his wife's death—may perhaps be the result of his desire to remain on good terms with his neighbor, but it is more apparently the result of his keener talent for recalling the great man's conversation than for penetrating his veneer. One can only conclude that Winsten is another of the many who have been taken in by Shaw, who have begun as his champion and admirer but have somehow never managed to become his friend.

The sixteen self-sketches constitute an approach to the autobiography which Shaw has steadfastly refused to write on the ground that "all my happenings have taken the form of books and plays." Like the Winsten book, they contain much material that has long been familiar; but they offer enough new data to convince one that Shaw will have to write many more books and plays before his happenings will be completely exhausted. There are, for instance, Shaw's own interpretations of the effect of his early life on the man he became: the good-natured and drunken irresponsibility of his father which made him a rabid teetotaler; the influence of the orchestral conductor George John Vandaleur Lee which confirmed in him his already emerging distrust for academic authority; his mother's resolution of domestic unhappiness in music which led him to seek his own salvation in art; and, perhaps most significant of all to analysts and critics of Shaw, his "shameful experience" at a Catholic school where he lost his Protestant self-respect in enforced association with the children of a social class he had been brought up to consider inferior to his own. But these revelations are to a large extent canceled out in the section of straight self-analysis which ostensibly supplements an early portrait by his friend Frank Harris but is so equivocally

drawn that the reader is left to decide for himself whether he is face to face with the real Shaw or merely another stage version of GBS.

For a simpler but less honest man than Shaw these sketches might well be a painful undertaking. Shaw's redeeming quality has always been his eagerness to be the first to jeer at his own disguises; and it is this quality that comes through most clearly. If he does not reveal all the secrets behind his profession of playing GBS, he at least acknowledges his malicious intent to keep them to himself. It is probably for this reason that the most delightful reading on Shaw always has been and always will be Shaw writing about himself.

JOHN W. ALDRIDGE

John W. Aldridge is a lecturer on literary criticism at the University of Vermont and author of a forthcoming book on new writers. He has contributed to Harper's, the Saturday Review of Literature, and Penguin New Writing.

GOOD COMPANY

TO BE A PILGRIM, by Joyce Cary (Harper and Brothers; \$3).

FOR ALMOST twenty years, Joyce Cary, a retired British colonial magistrate of Anglo-Irish parentage, has been working his way to the front ranks of living novelists. His reputation, which is impressive in England, rests on a solid groundwork of technical skill and literary feeling overlaid with vigor, originality and a rich sense of the comic. Character is his forte, and in all eleven of his novels plot becomes merely the setting for the people who push past its confines and out of the pages into life. They are not representative or even necessarily recognizable people, but something much rarer in contemporary writing: fully realized, if sometimes bizarre, individuals, neither good nor bad, whom one believes and delights in, and whom their creator treats with unfailing affection, humor and consistency, even to allowing them the occasional logical inconsistencies that put the final cap on their reality.

The unusually constructed trilogy in which *To Be a Pilgrim* is the second volume is a striking example of

Cary's talent. The novels are in chronological order, but each is presented in the first person through the mind of a different character originally introduced in *Herself Surprised*, the first of the series. What saves this from becoming nothing more than a demonstration of Cary's acknowledged virtuosity is the completeness he has given to each book. None requires either of the others to be entirely satisfying, but together they present uniquely rounded portraits of the characters who become increasingly interesting as they are seen through their own and other eyes.

At first glance, *To Be a Pilgrim* is the least spectacular achievement. Getting inside the mind of tormented, senile Tom Wilcher does not seem so remarkable a feat as making credible the deceptively ingenuous, candid inner workings of Sara Monday, his devout, yielding, thoroughly female and amorally light-fingered cook-housekeeper, who took the stage in *Herself Surprised*. And the second book has none of the Blakean sky-rockets and magnificently ribald explosions that artist Gulley Jimson sets off in *The Horse's Mouth* (not yet published in this country) which shoot the third volume to the highest level Cary has yet reached.

Nevertheless *To Be a Pilgrim* is a shrewd and penetrating as well as highly entertaining novel. In *Herself Surprised*, Wilcher appeared as a gentle, troubled old man, afflicted with a weakness for accosting young girls but clinging sincerely to the rituals of organized religion, harried by his younger relations and dependent upon Sara's good nature and love of life for his physical and emotional satisfactions. In *To Be a Pilgrim*, the background that shaped him into this mold slowly emerges as Wilcher, broken down by Sara's arrest, is packed off to the country in the care of his frighteningly modern, Freudian-trained niece, who is also a doctor.

Confused by her reactions to the familiar setting of his family home and her practical approach to an affair

with her cousin, the old man finds himself retreating into memories of the past. The already ended lives of his brothers and sister (all so much more colorful than his own) become co-existent with the romance currently being played out in the house. Even his rediscovery of Sara after her release is no more intriguing and filled with suspense than his gradually pieced together recollections of an earlier mistress, although the reader of *Herself Surprised*, seeing Sara for the first time in a new light, has an immediate glow of recognition and appreciation.

But *To Be a Pilgrim* has its own mood. Over all hangs the aura of what it feels like to be old. Wilcher's mind wanders from acumen to senility, from an instant of sharp perception to a rambling dissertation. This, although the other characters are vivid and alive, motivates the book and keeps it from falling into anything like the tiresome pageant-of-history pattern that so often afflicts two-generation family sagas. If touches of England's story from the 1870's to the early 1930's come in, they come through the filter of Wilcher's consciousness, and they are introduced only because, at the end of his life, the sense of being a part of something larger has become so essential to him.

So the comic, pathetic, interfering, sometimes despicable and sometimes admirable old man at whom one frequently laughs aloud is unexpectedly moving when he finally sums up his life:

The truth must be confessed that I am an old fossil, and that I have deceived myself about my abilities. I thought I could be an adventurer. . . . I shouted the pilgrim's cry, democracy, liberty, and so forth, but I was a pilgrim only by race. England took me with her a few stages on her journey. Because she could not help it. . . .

Cary has rather unfairly been called "a writer's writer." Anyone working in the same craft must inevitably admire his technique. But he also possesses to a high degree the ability to rouse and hold excited interest in whatever he is relating. This makes him, above all, a reader's

writer. He approaches genuine greatness as a novelist, and his fascination is inescapable. ANNE L. GOODMAN

LAW AND PROFIT

THE LAW OF FREE ENTERPRISE, by Lee Loevinger (Funk and Wagnalls, in association with Modern Industry Magazine; \$5).

IN RECENT YEARS no phrase has been subjected to greater abuse, at the hands of champions and critics alike, than "freedom of enterprise." To the former it is a fetish, to the latter, anathema; to precious few is it a topic for dispassionate analysis and discussion.

In *The Law of Free Enterprise*, Lee Loevinger, a thorough and scholarly Minneapolis lawyer, has written a descriptive history of the laws by which Americans have governed, and at times failed to govern, their industrial selves since establishment of the constitutional power in Congress over "commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states. . . ." The author is carried occasionally into the parlous waters of evaluation and advocacy. He there steers a quite conventional course, deprecating both a regression to the anarchy and chaos of complete corporate laissez-faire and the encroachments of a gradual socialist drift.

The author's purpose, which he himself characterizes as ambitious, is twofold. First, it is to enable businessmen to avoid conflict with the more important laws governing industrial activities. In this connection, the author is to be commended for his occasional willingness, uncharacteristic of lawyers generally, to give unqualified advice as to the legality of a given course of business conduct. For example, forecasting the application by a somewhat volatile court (US Supreme) of a less than translucent act (Robinson-Patman), Loevinger boldly affirms that maintenance by a seller of a uniform delivered price at all points of delivery is not discriminatory and will not run the businessman afoul of the law. And this despite certain disquieting aspects of the recent *Cement*

Institute cases, particularly in Justice Burton's dissent.

The second of the author's purposes is that of initiating the lay reader into the legal traditions of our free-enterprise system. Unlike the field of labor law, which Professor Charles Gregory exploited so successfully in *Labor and the Law*, the history of the statutes and decisions which establish the criteria for judging entrepreneurial conduct, while providing excellent material for legal periodicals, is hardly a "natural" for popular reading. Aside from the more flamboyant exploits of the "robber barons," the Gary dinners and the total-war implications of cartels, the law of free enterprise is a forbiddingly technical subject, requiring of the author a flair for compression and popularization in order to sustain the general reader's interest. Loevinger is possessed of neither attribute. His style, though clear, is somewhat heavy and redundant. He might have lightened the reader's load a bit by supplying a lively antithesis, such as that between Holmes's theory of oligopoly and Brandeis' predilection for the small-unit economy, as a unifying and clarifying motif for the book. As it is, the treatise plods along—with journeyman competence to be sure, but in a dogged, hornbook sort of way—and is unlikely to achieve its goal of widespread interest and enlightenment.

The two opening chapters are the best and most readable. The first deals with the roots of free enterprise in England and this country and shows how recent an acquisition the freedom is. The second traces in bold, outline strokes the origin, application and implementation of the commerce clause in the federal Constitution. It is well for us to read (or reread) the following classic statements which Loevinger quotes:

People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices.

The power over commerce . . . was one of the primary objects for which the people of America adopted their government. . . .

It is salutary to be reminded that the first was a pronouncement made, not just the other day by our Attorney General, but in the late eighteenth century by Adam Smith, and that the second was the utterance, not of some Marxist attempting to squeeze our national origins into the mold of dialectical materialism, but of Chief Justice Marshall of the Court in 1824.

The book throughout is a curious blend of perceptiveness and naïveté. In the chapter on restraint of trade, following orthodox treatment of the hallmark cases, the author lists and classifies the many variations on the theme of overt restraint with which the ingenuity of industrial America has tried to stay one conspiratorial step ahead of the judicial decisions implementing the Sherman Act. He provides, in fact, a kind of compendium of such evasive devices. Nor does he fall for any of the plausible considerations customarily advanced as justifications for continuing monopolistic practices or positions in particular cases. Yet despite the belief, widely held, that the Robinson-Patman Act has fostered rather than discouraged monopoly, the author concludes that "its flaws are principally technical ones." And in spite of the building-trades situation, Petrillo, and the consequent need for careful redefinition of the talismanic phrase "labor dispute" in light of the realities of restraint of trade, the author dismisses the question of labor's relation to this aspect of the law with the bland observation that "the laws governing business combinations certainly will function better, rather than worse, for being rid at last of the uneasy incubus of labor."

During the last few years the courts of the United States have rendered several decisions of major bearing on the rules of business conduct. The implications of these decisions are currently the object of widespread speculation. One specific defect of this book seems to me to be the insufficient stress laid on these recent trends. For example, the *US Gypsum* case has forced a radical revision in our think-

ing about the relation of patents to the anti-trust laws; yet the author does not appear to appreciate this fact. And in the field of discriminatory practices, the *Morton Salt* case may well require modification of much of what the author says about quantity discounts. As to the recent *Alcoa* and *Tobacco* cases, under which power is made the controlling test of monopolizing under the Sherman Act, one could wish that the author had made more of the fact that, far from representing a departure from sound doctrine, the decisions represent a return to and logical extension of views expressed by judges in the first and second decades of this century.

These deficiencies, if deficiencies they are and not just products of misplaced emphasis in my own reading of the cases, do not deprive the book of a major usefulness. Loevinger has made a notable attempt to bring clarity and predictability into a confused and disordered field. To the businessman he has pointed out many of the pitfalls that await the exercise of a judgment uninstructed in the laws governing business conduct. And he has brought within the reach of the persevering lay reader some understanding of the basic features and traditions of the laws of free enterprise.

JOHN O. LEVINSON

John O. Levinson, former mediator for the War Labor Board, is a member of the bar of both Connecticut and Illinois.

"WHAT CAN WE KNOW?"

THREE NOVELS, by Karel Capek.
Translated by M. and R. Weatherall (A. A. Wyn, Inc.; \$3.75).

"METEOR," the second novel of Karel Capek's trilogy, has previously appeared in this country. But the other two, *Hordubal* and *An Ordinary Life*, are published here now for the first time in this one-volume edition commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Czech writer's death.

The theme of the book is the kind of knowledge we have of people, and each of the novels investigates this problem in a different way. *Hordubal* is the story of a murder in a country

town. First of all, we know Hordubal's life as he lived it, a completely lonely and retiring man. Then after his murder we have the theories of the police, in establishing a motive and identifying the criminal. Finally, the court renders a decision and judgment. In the pictures of the man that evolve, the identity of Hordubal is hopelessly distorted and lost. Here the problem is to understand the facts, to interpret the evidence.

In *Meteor*, the problem is almost the reverse. The victim of an airplane crash, bandaged, unconscious, anonymous in a hospital, provokes four identities in the minds of the doctor, an attending nun, a clairvoyant, and a poet. The doctor limits his account to the few facts observable from the physical presence on the bed. The nun has a dream. The clairvoyant's method is intuition. The poet creates a story.

An Ordinary Life is the record of an old man "with a mania for order," drawing near death. "I'll put my life straight, and that's it. Well and good, I'll write it down so as to file it and tie it up with tape." This is the method of autobiography, and is as reliable as is self-knowledge. For this there is no external test, for "fortunately we do not know how our motives and acts appear to other people; perhaps we should shrink in terror from that crooked and obscure picture which even those who think of us kindly have of us."

As this book is concerned with the origin and veracity of our knowledge of life, it is in a large measure concerned with itself—with the methods and purpose of the art of fiction. "Writing novels is . . . like hunting," we are told, and of fantasy that "it runs smartly and attentively, like a dog with its nose on a fresh scent." The man who "fell from the sky" lies on the bed "without a face or a name." The poet conceives it as a "human duty" to provide him with an identity, and "became obsessed with the passion of investigation. . . . Since he is unknown, I shall invent him. . . . You ask what business it is of mine? If only I knew! I only know that I became obsessed with it."

The question is dramatized in an extreme example by the patient on the bed. Very well, it asks, and what can we know? Very little, except what we invent. "Whatever we look at is itself, and at the same time something of us, something of ours and personal; our knowledge of the world and of men is something like a confession." The individual accounts of the patient are first of all accounts of the individuals themselves. But when we have the facts, as in the story of Hordubal, how are we to "understand what was his life form, and what meaning pertains to anything he has experienced?" A man is not merely the sum of his

qualities, says Capek, for that often amounts to a sum of contradictions. "You can never understand a man if you keep on describing his qualities. It is not the qualities, it is the forces, forces which oppose each other, upset and check."

The interests of this book are deep and complex. The tales in themselves are absorbing and beautiful, but the fascination is finally in the initiation the author allows us into his purpose and methods. It is the performance of the artist, and his stories gain as if a conjuror should deepen the mystery by explaining his tricks.

JOHN FARRELLY

THE FINE ARTS: Centrifugal, Centripetal

THE RETROSPECTIVE SHOW of Georges Braque cleanly installed at the Museum of Modern Art, its solid catalogue, Braque's notebooks, each page adorned with stubby doodles, and the handsome exhibit of Cubist pictures at the Buchholz Galleries illustrating the appearance of Kahnweiler's historic *The Rise of Cubism*, compels a new estimate of the descent from Cézanne, and of modernism in our arts, as style or statement.*

Braque's paintings, the big floor of them, are massively placid and monotonous. If half had been hung, his decorative gift might seem less complacent. Now, one wanders from one agreeable surface to the next, as if each framed a fragment from some continuous tapestry. Everything is comestible, leaves from a tasty cookbook.

In each of the assigned periods, elements from any six compositions seem interchangeable. Each picture re-

groups its balanced recipe in a gracious sublimation of Braque's father's craft as simulator of wood-grains, as marbleizer. The flat Gallic common sense of his notebooks is laconic, astute, blunt: "In those who practice the cults of self, convictions replace faith. . . . One should always have two ideas; one to destroy the other. . . . I have never been able to distinguish a beginning from an end. . . . I am not a revolutionary painter. I am not seeking exaltation. Fervor is enough for me."

Braque demonstrates that decorative painting is ornamental, a display of means, plastic or formal; fine furniture to adorn a wall. Beneath its stenciled surface, it is soon exhausted, since it has not, in its sandy scumbles, its desiccation of Manet's *matière*, even the ultimate tactile richness of tapestry, enamel or ceramics. Braque is master of his epoch's national taste, the most France offers since the death of Vuillard. We are grateful. Let us not, however, with the scribes and snobs, invoke the humane shade of Chardin as we trace Braque's rational stenography. Though also attached to loaf, goblet and fruit, Chardin was never the mere decorator, since he found the factual texture of bread crust, wine glow and apple gloss as symbols, how-

*GEORGES BRAQUE, by Henry R. Hope. With a preface by Jean Cassou; 135 plates, 10 in color (The Museum of Modern Art; \$5).

GEORGES BRAQUE: Notebook, 1917-1947. With a translated supplement by Bernard Frechtman (Curt Valentin; \$4.50).

THE RISE OF CUBISM, by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. With a preliminary note by Robert Motherwell; 10 illustrations (Wittenborn Schultz; \$1.75).

ever fading, of a faith still superior to the styles of Self.

Cubist, abstract and non-representational art are accepted as the sole styles of legitimate modernism. Practitioners in these modes satisfy themselves that they are unique, since no previous epoch has enjoyed a non-objective art, an art whose incestuous end is simply craft. Most art is a search for symbols—intelligible, intense, with the greatest possible reference. Formerly, the Tree or Cross, the Vine or Grape, the Sheaf or Loaf could have their simple universal reference through classic or Christian cosmology; but now Western esoteric tradition has been dead for two centuries. When artists find symbols, as they still may, it is by pure force of personal lyricism elevated to a peak of general correspondence. But the ancient search for a symbol, clear, anonymous and catholic, has been confused with the acceptance and exploitation of devices, vague, idiosyncratic and specialized.

Ab-strahere, reads Webster, is to draw from, to separate, to be considered apart from application to particular objects. This separation, this absence of reference, which since Cézanne has been canonized as a first virtue, ~~ends~~ the long process deriving from the dualism of Descartes: mind and matter are separate entities. Has it taken the diagnoses of psychosomatic medicine to know they are not?

After Descartes, science itself became an abstraction, licensed to the isolation of specialists. The result is our present faithless loneliness, where scientists consider art harmless superstition, and artists view science *per se* as incomprehensible; at best a sort of factual grab-bag, to be ransacked for rhetorical devices. Scientific method, to most modern artists, consists chiefly of the conveniences in camera, museum or library. The invention of the camera supposedly dispensed with any further need for representational painting, although instantaneity was never a match for selection or synthesis. The best humanist painters, from Eakins and Degas to Siqueiros

and Ben Shahn, have used the camera as a documentary, or even stylistic aid. But the museum, and the library of reproductions (Malraux's democratic, universally available *musée imaginaire*), is often only an anthology for eclectics. Just as few artists come to any decision as to what the camera can or cannot do, so they use museum or library as *visual* aids. They ignore what determines the appearance of an object they find attractive. The mind was involved in the form the matter took; metaphysic and science, in art, are one.

Classicism, romanticism are naïve distinctions. Perhaps they only applied in the decades that first defined them. Now, they seem to be mere preferences toward style. There are romantic means of achieving abstract art (Kandinsky), and classic (Mondrian). There are classic ways of achieving figurative art (Poussin) as well as romantic (Delacroix). It might be more useful to divide influential painters into centrifugal artists whose interest extends beyond expressing the limits of their personality, and centripetal artists whose preoccupation is directed to a dramatization of their accidental or willful individualism.

The centrifugal artist is anti-Cartesian. He believes in a unity of mind and matter. His subject is as preconsidered as his technique is presupposed. His works are open windows, piercing the picture-plane, looking into catholic and superior reality. His brush is loaded with anonymity and prophecy (*prophane*: speaking for another, exterior, heightened, but corresponding and controlling order).

The centripetal painter believes in self-illumination, improvisation, speaking for himself alone. He belongs to a new tribe of rebels, enfranchised since Cézanne, whose customs make the specialized means of picture-making its sole end. A Cartesian, he feels an absolute split between structure and content. Preoccupied by insistent techniques, he makes of craft his hypnotic guide.

Even non-representational art must fatally represent something. However

abstracted or isolated a composition may be from a universal symbol, states of mind, tensions, oppositions are presented. But they are ambiguous. Since they may be many things vaguely, they are seldom intensely or necessarily any one. Although symbols have layers of reference, they are not ambiguous. They focus and pivot on a single sign. Meanings fly out from their intense source, illuminating everything. Abstracted art, in its slippery personalism, writes naïve autobiographies.

Kandinsky's *Black Lines: 1913* (Museum of Non-Objective Art) might be joyous decoration, spring freshets in release, flowers in a bowl, fireworks, or all, or none, or many other things. It is nothing intensely or inexhaustibly save a semi-automatic improvisation dispersed in the tasteful, private and indiscriminate exuberance of its artist.

Poussin's "Rape of the Sabine Women" (Metropolitan Museum) is scarcely rendered with photographic completeness. It has its own selective abstraction. While the incident of its *prétexte* may not be near us, its richness, sober complexity, its stoic, frozen atmosphere—implacable, alexandrine—fixes us, not on Poussin's personality, but on a rite. There is no isolation of individual elements purely as plastic components. Decorum, moral elegance, tragedy are as important as its changeable-silk costumery. Poussin had more pretensions than to be a practitioner; he was part poet and part prophet.

In spite of a self-separation from the continuous past, centripetal painters look to museums when not at mirrors. Great nature is forgot. Since they have small curiosity past preference, they choose objects for decorative devices, with slight interest in their roots. How can I use this? The Impressionists half-read Japanese woodcuts for bold flat-pattern, ignoring their psychological ferocity. The Cubists, in their demi-science, felt corroborated by African masks, finding in a strict intersection of planes some plastic attraction, but never admitting that such formal intensity sprang from belief in the supernatural, from the

sense of a will above the self. The uses Impressionism and Cubism made of prior devices is often arresting. The comparatively rapid exhaustion, as styles, of both Impressionism and Cubism resulted from their decorative or rhetorical fragmentation.

Museums and documents continue to be misread. The fact that a movement occurred, has been well collected or monographed, does not mean that it is useful to us now, nor even valid for itself, apart from its own historicity. Impressionism, for example, might be read as a languid digression, a vague disturbance of the peripheries of retinal assimilation, mechanical and mindless, which, while it may have broken down elements of light, decomposed form past legibility, and content past meaning save the accidental or instantaneous. One might claim the sole service of Impressionism was the fact of Seurat (a fine exhibition of whose work is currently shown for charity at the Knoedler Gallery), himself the reversal of what the Impressionists fancied themselves, since

against snapshot he opposed synthesis charged with order, plastic and intellectual, avoiding every immediate improvisation of *plein-airisme*.

Similarly, the descent from Cézanne, specialized, puritanical, egocentric and tricky, may be considered not progress but poverty. One day we must decide whether Cézanne was start or finish. After forty years his chief service seems to have been to make us look backward in the museums, with his awkward, honest eyes, to see cube, cone and cylinder not as pegs upon which to drape a kaleidoscope of styles, but as primitive structure which had been smothered by tiresome anecdote before him or academic estheticism after him. Through his vision we may see geometry as symbol of a more catholic order, rather than a facility for abstracting derivative, repetitive decoration, which, from retrospective exhibition to one-man show, look like the vignettéd photos in a class year-book. Each face is different, yet all have that uniform, doomed, hopeful vanity of the one most likely to succeed.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

MUSIC: Serge Koussevitzky

IN HIS FINAL New York appearance as music director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, whose destiny he has shaped for twenty-five years, Serge Koussevitzky conducted an interpretation of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony that was unparalleled in the experience of this witness to many onslaughts upon the unwieldy masterpiece. As technique, the performance bordered upon the miraculous. The first three movements were played with the extraordinarily translucent texture only the Boston orchestra can command. In the choral finale all the problems of balance, coordination and articulation were solved, so that none of the hazards and infelicities of the vocal writing detracted from the effectiveness of the "Ode to Joy." The chorus was splendidly trained, and for once did not seem to get tired. The quartet of solo-

ists—Frances Yeend, Eunice Alberts, David Lloyd and James Pease—did not try to advertise themselves individually, but kept their singing in context, phrasing and inflecting their music with as much unity of purpose and expertness of style as the players in the orchestra.

To hear the Ninth Symphony presented in grammatically adequate fashion was remarkable enough. But for Koussevitzky, executive efficiency was no more than a necessary preliminary condition. Under the stress of what must have been deep emotion, the conductor propounded the mysteries of the symphony and declaimed its affirmations with supreme nobility of spirit and intellectual breadth. I doubt that the Ninth has ever been performed with more reposeful as-

surance or more transcendent magnificence.

A fortnight later, Koussevitzky repeated the work at the close of his Boston season in Symphony Hall. There were tears in the eyes of many in the capacity audience, as they stood to give him one of the greatest ovations in Boston musical history. For this was the end of an epoch; the future of the Boston Symphony Orchestra might be good, but to thousands of Bostonians it could never be the same without Koussevitzky.

The scope of Koussevitzky's artistic aims and the relentlessness with which he has sought to realize them distinguish him as one of the few really great conductors the United States has possessed. (Stokowski—in his earlier years—Toscanini and Mengelberg are perhaps his only peers.) When he first came to Boston a quarter of a century ago, he was a less experienced conductor than many of his colleagues in this country. His lack of background showed all too plainly in an inept handling of many of the classics, and some Bostonians who still remembered the ripe authority of Karl Muck wondered at first whether the board had not acted hastily in entrusting the orchestra to this handsome, patrician Russian whose chief reputation stemmed from the sophisticated Concerts Koussevitzky, in which each spring in Paris he played a great deal of contemporary music in programs underwritten by his wealthy wife.

But those who looked askance at Koussevitzky because of his limited experience, his wife's money, or his reported malaise in score-reading, underestimated both the conductor's capacity for unremitting work and his fanatical identification with the highest musical idealism. Within three years the orchestra learned to play with a cleanness, brilliance and effervescence no other group except the Philadelphia Orchestra could match. Over the angry protests of conservative subscribers, he continued to play an immense number of new works, until finally even those who did not enjoy it came to learn that one of the major

functions of a symphony orchestra is to make known the best works by living composers. He possessed, from the first, a rare intuition about new music, and consistently sponsored and encouraged only the most gifted and best equipped American composers; no single individual has contributed more toward public recognition of the stature of such men as Copland, Barber, Harris, Schuman and Piston. Koussevitzky's Boston career constitutes the longest and the richest chapter in the entire chronicle of the encouragement, presentation and widespread acceptance of American music.

As the years passed, Koussevitzky's musical horizon constantly broadened. Without diminishing his activity on behalf of contemporary music, both American and European, he learned to penetrate farther below the surface of older Central European music, and brought increasing luster to his interpretations of French and Russian scores, at which he had always been adept. The recent Ninth Symphony is a case in point: as one who sang in Koussevitzky's first American performance of it, I can testify to the enormous expansion and enrichment more than two decades of growth have given to his command of the work.

An ardent believer in the artistic future of his adopted country, Koussevitzky has sought to perpetuate his own high standards in the Berkshire Music Center, which he founded and continues to administer at Tanglewood. The educational aspiration of Tanglewood is so visionary that the project ought, according to all known rules, to have been a practical failure. But with the aid of such younger men as Aaron Copland and Leonard Bernstein, who truly share his ideals, the Berkshire Music Center has become one of our most valuable formative influences upon the taste of the younger generation. If Koussevitzky needs a memorial, Tanglewood provides one. But for thousands who have known his lofty achievements throughout a generation, it is superfluous to designate any tangible memorial. Great men are not easily forgotten. CECIL SMITH



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NEW REPUBLIC

ON THE AIR: Education for What?

ELECTRONICS offers a new challenge to the Man of Intellect. His disdain for radio must now embrace the new medium of television, which he imagines as picturing only roller derbies, wrestling and the culturally unacceptable Milton Berle.

Parallel to the contempt for the artistic possibilities of television, there is a tendency to discount its possible social potential. Nevertheless, television has begun to flex its muscles as an educational force. As example, I cite a half-hour of film shows on the ABC-TV network these Thursday nights at nine.

The first 25 minutes of that period are devoted to a documentary based on General Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe*. You will recall that in addition to being serialized in many newspapers, the book was featured by *Life* magazine. Film rights were bought by Twentieth Century-Fox, which in turn rented the television privileges for a 21 month period to the ABC network. The agreement stipulated that Twentieth Century-Fox would furnish ABC with a film based on the book. Since the big movie outfit had no documentary unit of its own, it hired March of Time as a subcontractor. When MOT had prepared 26 film chapters of "Crusade," the ABC people were ready to go on the air and sought a sponsor. The cost was sizable—\$490,000 for an initial 26-week run on 30 stations. But the salesmen came across; the bill is being paid by Time, Inc. The bookkeeping must be ingenious.

So far, I have seen only two of the 26 chapters. No. 1, "Prelude to War," moves swiftly from the pre-Munich days through the conquest of Czechoslovakia, Neville Chamberlain's announcement that Britain is at war with Germany, the French reliance on the Maginot Line, Hitler's parade into Paris, the Battle of Britain, and the Nazi conquest of Western Europe.

During the closing moments of the first chapter, there is a scene of fire-

men trying almost futilely to extinguish the flames of London. The film is authentic—March of Time took what it wanted from something like 165 million feet of film in the newsreel pools and documentary archives of the United States, Britain, Canada and France, including captured enemy reels. Behind the crackling fierceness of burning London, there was a voice. But it was not an announcer being prolix about horrors you can see for yourself. The voice was Winston Churchill's. He was appealing to the world in general, to you and me in this country particularly. He was warning us that forever we would remember Britain's suffering: "This was their finest hour!"

The next chapter I saw was No. 9, dealing with the invasion of Italy. Taken by themselves, in the context of their times, neither of the chapters can be tagged as propaganda for a new war. This is history. Churchill's voice? The skillful documentarist has a right to choose the most potent materials available, provided he does not deviate from historical accuracy. Churchill did speak as we hear him in Chapter I, and Chapter IX does go so far as to show at least one dead American body on an Italian beach. Realism is here, and authenticity.

But the observer also has the right to look for the purpose of a documentary. The self-styled Intellectual is plumb crazy if he disregards television when it is capable of using a potent educational tool ground to a fine edge by an expert like de Rochemont. Even though the clearly identifiable Luce propaganda does not extend beyond legitimate commercial plugs for *Time* and *Life*, it is still proper to wonder whether this re-creation of the heroism, drama and emotional satisfactions of the recent war is the happiest subject for education by television in the current semester.

SAUL CARSON.

THEATRE: Paris Season, No. III

ARMAND SALACROU'S "L'Archipel Lenoir," a satire on the old and now almost extinct prewar upper bourgeoisie, suffers painfully from lack of direction. This is all the more disappointing because the play has a certain bite and its director and star is Charles Dullin, one of the three theatrical leaders—the other two being Juvet and Baty—who developed from the original Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier group of Jacques Copeau.

Copeau, whose profound seriousness served to purify the atmosphere of the French theatre between 1918 and 1925, was a perfectionist. All his products had, within the limits set by his classic austerity, a real finish, the mark of a sedulous craftsmanship. Today the work of his "followers" shows the master's influence in a rather spotty fashion. There is something hasty and slipshod in the work of even the best directors. Dullin's appearance with a third-rate supporting cast may be attributed to lack of funds. But one cannot escape the impression that French stage directors do little more than indicate to their actors the kind of "business" and characterizations they have in mind, and fail to concern themselves with execution. Good plays and even good directional ideas frequently take on a distressingly ragged aspect in performance. The French theatre of today is often better than it looks.

On the other hand, Henry Bernstein, who manages the fashionable Ambassadeurs, can afford expensive casts. His latest play, "La Soif" ("Thirst"), is stale stuff, the bottom of the barrel in 1914 wares. One might call the piece sentimental pornography. It pays off because there is always in France a new class of well-heeled profiteers and culturally innocent tourists for whom oily palaver about sex is considered the real thing—especially when dished out by actors like Jean Gabin, Claude

Dauphin and the highly attractive Madeleine Robinson.

The directorial trick by which "La Soif" is made to seem substantial is the old one of instructing all the actors—in contrast to practically every other company in Paris—to talk so quietly and casually that they can barely be heard. Gabin is thoroughly effective, but in the atmosphere of Bernstein's play and the clever-phony manner of putting it over, one almost resents that one likes him and that the company as a whole exercises a certain seduction. . . . But if the persistence of all this kind of theatre seems discouraging, there are rewarding little gems of entertainment to be discovered in odd places.

In a left-bank night club called La Rose Rouge, a group of youngsters, notably four brothers known as Les Frères Jacques, are giving a delightful show. Their program is divided into two parts. The first consists of songs from the nineties popularized by such famous *chansonniers* as Aristide Bruant and Yvette Guilbert. (One Guilbert song is the ballad of a girl whose navel is formed in the shape of a five.) The second part of the program is devoted to the staging of pieces from Raymond Queneau's book, *Exercices in Style*. A brief incident of no significance whatsoever is simply stated—it relates how the author saw a man with an unusual hat on a bus and saw him once again later the same day in front of the Gare St. Lazare being told that his coat was not properly buttoned. Then the incident is retold in countless different manners: naturalistic, symbolic, poetic, classic, surrealistic, telegraphic, syllabic, etc., etc. The young actors make a sharp and hilarious study in stylized staging out of this literary prank. What is particularly exhilarating about the Rose Rouge show is its combination of rowdy popular amusement with a keen appreciation of cul-



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tivated material. It is a little as if Danny Kaye were to stage and act a literary parody by Max Beerbohm without either humorist losing his own quality.

There is not much to be said about Jean-Louis Barrault's "Hamlet" after all. It is simple, clean, sharp and very small. It suggests an intelligent explanation of Shakespeare's play by an artist who can express himself only by slight pencil drawings of the human figure. Barrault's tortured face, which has a kind of handsome ugliness—intense mental capacity, sensitivity and frustrated suffering all congealed into a mask—and his thin, diminutive body which moves with a kind of grace both fragile and hard, tend to increase an impression of something stylistically dignified without any flesh or blood. One cannot be moved, because Barrault, dry and distinguished as a medallion, always remains this side of a full human emotion. Yet one is hardly ever bored or offended by this shortcoming. This is not Shakespeare, or "Hamlet," or great art of any sort, but in some peculiar way the reduction of these materials to almost dainty dimensions makes the play's structure and line clearer than they are in many more full-blown productions. It is a kind of marionette show in which the very absence of body contributes to a reality that serves the mind alone.

I could not bid farewell to Paris without recalling the charming and sad documentary film, "Paris: 1900," that is having an extraordinary success now at a left-bank movie house. It is a picture of a gay, foolish, creative, heedless time. As a leading motif, we see the jovial, rotund President of the Republic, Falguière, officiating over endless, carefree, ornate and silly public functions. Shortly after the President's peaceful retirement to the country, the First World War approaches. The troops are seen going off to the war, cheering and singing in anticipation of what they are sure will be a glorious six-week lark. . . . The French have lost that

security and that innocence. They are worried. They are skeptical of the past, frightened of the future. We can only hope that Armand Salacrou is wrong when he says some Frenchmen believe that everything can be settled by a new war. "They think it will last thirty days; it would last thirty years." HAROLD CLURMAN

New Stages, which made some rather stern demands on its audience during the winter, decided to wind up its season with a bit of foolishness called "Bruno and Sidney." For their amiability, they had their knuckles rapped by the daily critics and closed after five performances.

That was too bad. With no pretension to importance or even real originality, "Bruno and Sidney" provided a merry evening. Edward Caulfield, the author, had devised a series of absurd situations revolving upon a pair of unusual mice and embroiling a nice young student with some of the most ingratiating grotesques since "You Can't Take It with You." Philip Loeb, driving at a furious pace, pushed the company safely across the shoals in the text and sent at least one audience home in a high good humor.

The cast, made up largely of truant from the radio corn, threw itself hungrily on the large slices of ham and produced some spectacular, if scarcely disciplined, characterizations. The Bleecker Street Theatre could have been a pleasant refuge in the hot evenings ahead. R. L. H.

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MAY 23, 1949

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against the unreeling events of a plot. What seemed to be so at the begin-
 ning is no longer true at the end—it
 never was true and now it is less so
 than ever.

The couple in this story are not
 stamped with clear, indelible labels.
 They are beautiful at moments, ugly
 at others; we can rejoice with them
 in their happiness, hate them for their
 cruelty, pity them for the sorrows of
 their weakness and fear. To eyes
 dulled by the high bosoms and
 squared jaws of a multitude of famous
 facsimiles, the reality of Micheline
 Presle and Gérard Philippe is almost
 painful. They are a reminder that
 acting can come awkwardly close to
 life.

The story, set in a Paris faubourg
 in 1917, is of a schoolboy's infatua-
 tion for an older woman, a woman
 engaged to a soldier away at war. The
 relationship advances too fast and too
 far because of weakness on one side,
 ignorance on the other; but at first
 there is, or seems to be, a lot of
 health and joy in it. In the end, it
 works out quite differently; the trans-
 gressors pay an account drawn up
 with relentless Old Testament justice.

The lovers are terrible in their suf-
 fering, terrible as their sin catches
 them up and their lovely pleasure in
 each other falls into shallow, selfish,
 cowardly bits. The picture is from a
 novel by Raymond Radiguet, about
 whom I know very little except that
 he must have learned his morality in
 a hard school. There is no saving
 grace, no tempered wind for his
 naked sheep.

There was some question about
 permitting this film to be shown in
 America, a hesitation that is incredible
 in view of the fact that it is almost
 a sermon on the wages of sin. Of
 course, it first establishes the sin—
 you cannot expect a group of French-
 men to become interested in staging
 such a tale if they must pretend that
 all the fuss is about someone being
 kissed behind a mulberry bush. A
 censor's life would be jolly if stories
 could be written that were all pun-
 ishment and no fun. **ROBERT HATCH**

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